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VOLUME THREE
1912-1913

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The Quarterly Journal

OF

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA

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Announcement

THE Quarterly Journal is a periodical maintained by the University of North Dakota. Its primary function is to represent the varied activities of the several colleges and departments of the University, tho it is not limited to that. Contributions from other sources are welcomed, especially when they are the fruitage of scientific research, literary investigation or other forms of constructive thought. Correspondence is solicited.

The subscription price is one dollar a year, single numbers, thirty cents.

All communications should be addressed,

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL,
University, North Dakota

Editor's Bulletin Board

THE next issue of the Quarterly Journal will represent the political and social sciences. Among the articles of interest will be one by Justice A. A. Bruce of the Supreme Court of North Dakota, on "The New Individualism." Dr. O. G. Libby who contributed an article to the issue of April, 1912, on "A Sketch of the Early Political Parties in the United States," will discuss, more in detail, some interesting phases of the same general subject under the title, "Political Factions During Washington's Administration."

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THE REGISTRAR,
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The Quarterly Journal

VOLUME 3

OCTOBER, 1912

NUMBER 1

The Work of the Pioneers

A. J. LADD,

Professor of Education,

University of North Dakota

(PREFATORY NOTE. This article on "The Work of the Pioneers" is to be the third chapter of the writer's forthcoming book on "The History of Normal Schools in the United States." A brief word reviewing the ground covered in the former chapters is here needed to give it appropriate setting.

Chapter I, "Normal School Beginnings," traces the movement for the professional education of teachers from its real starting point with the Teaching Congregations, notably the Jesuits, in the sixteenth century, down into the early decades of the nineteenth, when we find the normal school a well-recognized factor in the educational systems of nearly all the states of central Europe. It is shown that August Hermann Francke was most largely responsible for the idea while Frederick the Great and Marie Theresa were the enlightened rulers who gave it fruitful soil.

Chapter II, "Educational Beginnings in the United States," sketches rapidly the educational development in America during the colonial period and the early days of statehood. It is shown that educational zeal, running high at first, gradually became dimmed under the various depressing influences of the development of a new country until the schools seem to be a reproach, if not a menace. But a few people are wide awake and thoughtful. They see the necessity of improvement, and casting about for a means discover the fatal weakness—poorly prepared teachers. How to make them better, is the question. They try to answer it, and some of them do pioneer work. Chapter III, the article given here, tells of the work of these pioneers.)

IT has been suggested in a former chapter that with the almost universal lessening of interest in educational matters during the closing years of the eighteenth century, and the consequent decline in educational activity of the early decades of the nineteenth, there arose here and there far-seeing men who attempted to check the downward course and to place the entire educational system upon a more satisfactory basis. Indeed, from the very beginning we have

never lacked such public spirited servants. And the decline that I have so hastily sketched would have been much more rapid and more disastrous had it not been for their labors. Stirring addresses calling attention to the value of universal education, labored arguments showing its specific need in a Democratic State, impassioned appeals for more and better schools, requests and demands for their better management and more generous support, and suggestions for improved pedagogical methods were employed in season and out of season. The pulpit and the press, the lecture platform and the drawing room, the ballot box and the law court were all pressed into service. The old files of educational magazines, of weekly and monthly periodicals, and even the old dust-covered volumes of sermons give evidence of educational interest and activity on the part of many. But among all the good things said and written, among all the excellent suggestions made for improvement, we are surprised to find postponed to so late a date the suggestion that touches the difficulty at its very root.

Tho the need of competent teachers was from the start somewhat fully recognized, the force of the old Prussian maxim, "as is the teacher so is the school," was not fully grasped until very late. And when it was finally grasped they seem to us to have been slow in working out a means for giving the teacher adequate preparation. And this slowness is difficult for us to understand. With a recognition of the utility of the normal school so much a part of our very consciousness we can hardly see why such agency had not been earlier adopted. But let us not be harsh in our judgment. Hark back to a former chapter and note that it was not till near the close of the eighteenth century that the utility of such an agency had been anywhere adequately recognized, and then only in places far remote.

**Elisha Ticknor
1789**

Not till 1789, so far as I can learn, was any suggestion made looking toward the establishment of an institution in the United States having as one of its definitely recognized functions the professional preparation of teachers. This suggestion is found in a note to an article printed in the *Old Massachusetts Magazine* for June, 1789. The article was headed, "*Essay upon the Importance of studying the English Language grammatically.*" It was not signed but is thought to have been written by either Elisha Ticknor or Caleb Bingham, both grammar school teachers of note, with the odds in favor of Mr. Ticknor. In the course of his argument the writer is led to say:

"Noble distinctions are unknown in America, except constituted by merit; therefore let every freeman remember that nothing will so

much insure the independency of his country as a regular, systematic *English* education." Thus far afield, he is tempted a little farther and makes the suggestion referred to:

"Since education has been a question of much debate in this, as well as in many other States, and what method is best to be adopted in order to lessen every unnecessary expense, and yet to establish our schools on a more respectable footing, and to diffuse light and knowledge more universally among the people, —I beg leave to suggest the following plan: As each town in this Commonwealth of more than a hundred and forty families is obliged, by an act of the General Court, to support a public Grammar School, in which you will very seldom find more than three or four boys studying the learned languages, and as these scholars are the only persons benefited by the extraordinary expense the town is at in obtaining a master qualified for the office, and as, perhaps, nine-tenths of the people of the State do not receive one shilling's advantage per annum, by reason of the great distance they live from the several schools, I think to annihilate all the Latin Grammar Schools, and to establish one in each county, will render more essential service to the community, and fix the schools on a more respectable footing than any plan that has yet been suggested. My idea of the matter is simply this:—that there should be a public Grammar School established in each county of the State, in which should be taught English Grammar, Latin, Greek, rhetoric, geography, mathematics, etc., in order to fit *young gentlemen for college and school keeping*.¹ At the head of this county school I would place an able preceptor, who should superintend the whole instruction of the youth committed to his care, and who, together with a board of overseers, should annually examine young gentlemen, designed for school-masters, in reading, writing, arithmetic, and English grammar, and if they are found qualified for the office of school-keeping, and able to teach these branches with ease and propriety, to recommend them for this purpose. No man ought to be suffered to superintend ever so small a school, except he has been first examined by a body of men of this character, and authorized for this purpose. And I am sure *it is no vanity in me* to think that were our petty Grammar schools annihilated, and one established in each county as a substitute, instead of our common mock schools, kept by a set of ignoramuses, who obtrude themselves upon the people a few months at a time, without the requisite abilities or qualifications, we should have a worthy class of teachers, regularly introduced and examined, and should soon see the happy results from this noble plan."²

1. All italics belong to the author.

2. (a) Common School Journal (Mass.), Vol. IV (1842), P. 169.

(b) Barnard, Henry: American Journal of Education, Vol. XVI, P. 75.

(c) Gordy, J. P. Rise and Growth of the Normal School Idea (1891), P. 9.

The writer was suggesting here something more than the substitution of one efficient county school for several weak, poorly attended town schools; he was doing that, and he was adding to that more efficient county school an entirely new function—the preparation of teachers. Certain branches were to be taught “in order to fit young gentlemen for college *and school keeping*.” A new star had arisen in the educational firmament of America. But yet more, the writer seemed to recognize the need of some qualification other than academic for teaching, for he says, in speaking of the duties of the examining board which he recommends, “if they” (that is, the young gentlemen being examined) “are found qualified for the office of schoolkeeping, and *able to teach these branches with ease and propriety*,” that they should be recommended.

Nothing definite, so far as action is concerned, came from the suggestion, indeed, it was not put forth with that intent. It was not addressed to any official body, nor given out at any particular or auspicious time, simply one man's suggestion as to a solution of a difficult problem given out gratuitously and generously. But it is interesting to note that thus early there is found a clear appreciation of the need of an institution devoted largely to the preparation of teachers and that in that preparation two elements enter—namely, academic and professional.

That Mr. Ticknor's suggestion did not arouse any particular enthusiasm upon the subject of the professional education of teachers is evidenced from the fact that, search as we may, we can find no reference to it in the current literature, no reference either to the suggestion or to the great subject itself. Indeed, the next reference comes from one not yet born when Mr. Ticknor wrote.

Denison Olmsted 1816

In 1816 Denison Olmsted, then tutor, later professor, in Yale College, upon taking his master's degree from that institution, presented an oration upon the subject, “The State of Education in Connecticut,” in which he recommended a “seminary for schoolmasters.” I quote liberally from a communication of his made at a later time touching this entire from a communication of his made at a later time touching his entire experience. If apology be needed for a quotation of such length, let it be found in this: namely, that the quotation both makes the present matter clear and also throws much light upon existing educational conditions.

“My course as a teacher began with a small district school, when I was seventeen years of age, and while fitting for college.

I had there a full opportunity to become acquainted with the state of education as it then existed in our village schools. On leaving college, in 1813, I resumed the profession of teacher (which I have followed ever since), by taking charge of a Union School, at New London. This was a select school, supported by a few of the first families of the place, who desired to obtain for their sons a superior training for business or for college, according to their destination in life. It had been continued for generations, and had enjoyed the instruction of a series of eminent teachers, among whom were the celebrated Nathan Hale, Honorable Jacob B. Gurley, Ebenezer Learned, Esq., Doctor Jonathan Knight, of the medical department of Yale College, and Professor Ebenezer Kellogg, of Williams' College. The proprietors, desiring to have their sons educated exclusively in that school, after leaving the rudimentary female schools, introduced them at the early age of eight or nine years, and kept them there until they went to business or to college. The number was limited to thirty, but the variety of age, and the different professions in life for which they were destined, occasioned an unusual range of studies. Some were in the spelling book; some in English grammar and geography; some in the languages, from Latin grammar to Virgil's *Georgics* and Xenophon's *Anabasis*; and some in different branches of mathematics, from simple arithmetic to algebra, surveying and navigation. It required the most exact order and method to complete the round of recitations in half a day, and secure, for the whole school, half an hour for penmanship at the close of the forenoon, and half an hour for reading at the close of the afternoon.

"I had here full opportunity of comparing the effect of different courses of study upon lads of similar age, and soon discovered a marked difference, in intelligence and capacity, between those who were studying the languages and mathematics preparatory to entering college, and devoted only a small portion of every day to the common rudiments, as English grammar, geography, reading, writing, and spelling, and those who spent all their time in these elementary studies. I was surprised to find that the former excelled the latter even in a knowledge of these very studies; they read better, spelt better, wrote better, and were better versed in grammar and geography. One inference I drew from this observation was, that an extended course of studies, proceeding far beyond the simple rudiments of an English education, is not inconsistent with acquiring a good knowledge of those rudiments, but is highly favorable to it; since, on account of the superior capacity developed by the higher branches of study, the rudiments may be better learned in less time; and a second inference was, that nothing was wanted in order to raise all our common schools to a far higher level, so as to embrace the elements of English literature, of the natural sciences, and of the mathematics, but competent teachers and necessary books.

"I was hence led to the idea of a 'Seminary for Schoolmasters,' to be established at the expense of the State; where the instruction at least should be gratuitous. It was to be under the direction of a principal and an assistant; the principal to be a man of liberal education, and of a high order of talent, and an experienced and successful teacher. The assistant was to be well versed in the English branches of education, at least. The course of study was to occupy from one to two years, and candidates were to be admitted only after an approved examination. The pupils were to study and recite whatever they were themselves afterwards to teach, partly for the purpose of acquiring a more perfect knowledge of those subjects, and partly of learning from the methods adopted by the principal the best modes of teaching. It was supposed that only a small portion of time would be required to be spent upon the simple rudiments, but that the greater part might be devoted to English grammar and geography, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and such works as Blair's *Rhetoric*; studies adapted to improve the taste, and make correct and accomplished writers. Ample instructions also were to be given by the principal on the organization and government of a school.

"A class of sixty pupils, sent out from the seminary every year, would in ten years furnish to the village schools a body of able teachers, who would raise the standard of education in the common schools, to a level of that of the academies, which were scattered here and there over the state, being designed to afford to the few who could bear the expense, opportunities for learning those higher branches of an English education which were not attempted in the common schools. Few of the whole number of children, however, enjoyed these superior advantages; but the greater part finished their education at the village schools, with nothing more than reading, spelling, writing, and a little arithmetic. Not even grammar and geography were at that time taught in the common schools.

"There was one very encouraging feature in my plan. No sooner would this superior order of schoolmasters commence their labors, than the schools themselves would begin to furnish teachers of a higher order. The schoolmasters previously employed, were for the most part such as had all their education at the common schools, and could only perpetuate the meager system of beggarly elements which they had learned; but it was obvious that schools, trained in a more extended course of studies, would produce teachers of a corresponding character. Therefore, if we could once start the machine, it would go on by its own momentum.

"At the commencement of Yale College, in 1816, when I took my master's degree, in an oration on "The State of Education in Connecticut." I was then a tutor in the college, and zealously engaged in instructing a class; but I did not lose sight of this favorite idea of an 'Academy for Schoolmasters.' I also

laid out a scheme for an extended course of newspaper essays, which would fully bring the subject before the public, and took every opportunity to present the plan to individuals of eminence, who were likely to feel interested in the improvement of our common schools, or who had influence in the public councils. Should the proposed essay have the desired effect of arousing the public attention to the importance of the plan, I next intended to have it brought before the legislature, with the view of securing means for carrying it into immediate execution.

"At that moment I unexpectedly received the appointment of Professor of Chemistry in the University of North Carolina. The question was submitted to my friends, whether I should accept the invitation, or remain here and endeavor to carry out my plan for the establishment of a 'Seminary for Schoolmasters.' The slender prospect of interesting the community in the scheme, and the extreme backwardness of our legislature to appropriate funds for the promotion of education, in any other manner than that to which the school fund was exclusively devoted, led me to yield, though very reluctantly, to the advice of my friends, and accept the appointment from abroad. I had less occasion to regret this decision, since the idea of normal schools was shortly afterwards conceived by the Reverend Thomas H. Gallaudet, James G. Carter, Esq., Governor DeWitt Clinton, and others, and brought before the public by them under circumstances more favorable than I could have commanded, had I remained to prosecute my favorite enterprise."³

Here is suggested a school for the better preparation of common school teachers, 'to be established at the expense of the state,' in which "instruction, at least, should be gratuitous." Thorough instruction, both in matter and method, was to be given in the subjects to be afterwards taught, and beyond that ample opportunity for pursuing "studies adapted to improve the taste, and make correct and accomplished writers." But not only that, he realized well that a teacher's success depends as much upon his management of what we may call externals, so provided for "ample instructions" on the "organization and government of a school." Save the training school, what more have we to-day than Mr. Olmsted's plan more fully developed?

In spite of his modest disclaimer that the other gentlemen named prosecuted the enterprise under "more favorable" circumstances than he "could have commanded," we feel to regret deeply, from the standpoint of the common schools, his decision "to accept the appointment from abroad." With his definite knowledge of the needs of the common schools, with his enthusiasm for their betterment running high and with his plan of action so intelligently and so efficiently

3. Barnard, Henry: *American Journal of Education*, Vol. V, pp. 369ff.

worked out, we feel that he must have succeeded, at any rate that the glad day would not have been so long postponed. For it was seven years before the matter was again so well brought forward and more than three times seven before a school was established.

James L. Kingsley 1823

The next suggestion also came from one of the faculty of Yale College. In April, 1823, Professor James L. Kingsley contributed to the *North American Review* an extended article on the Connecticut School Fund.⁴ He analyzed the educational situation of the state and found the conditions very unsatisfactory. These conditions, he held, had not been improved by the use of the much vaunted School Fund. Among measures suggested for improvement we find one of interest. It is, in a word, to devote a small portion of the income of this fund to the establishment and maintenance of a teachers' seminary for each county. His specific reference runs as follows:

"Let a superior school, intermediate between the common schools and the university, be maintained in every county of the state, where all of those, who aspire to teach in common schools, may be themselves thoroughly instructed. Such a measure would give new vigor to the whole system of education. The board of visitors, which now decides on the qualifications of instructors, must be in most instances, a very imperfect check on the intrusion of ignorance. The teachers, it is understood, have now very seldom any other preparation, than they receive in the very school, where they afterwards instruct, or in the school of some neighboring district where the advantages are no better."⁵

William Russell 1823

A few months later, August, 1823, Mr. William Russell, the principal of an academy at New Haven, Connecticut, in a pamphlet entitled "Suggestions on Education," endorsed Professor Kingsley's views, even pressing the matter still further. I quote the significant part of Mr. Russell's suggestion:

"The common schools for children are, in not a few instances, conducted by individuals who do not possess one of the qualifications of an instructor; and in very many cases, there is

4. This fund, it may be well to recall, had been established in 1795 by appropriating the proceeds of the sale of land owned by Connecticut in the present State of Ohio, commonly called the "Western Reserve." The fund, in 1795, amounted to \$1,200,000, the income of which was to be used for the benefit of the common schools. For an account of this fund, consult the following:

(a) Barnard, Henry: *American Journal of Education*, Vol. 4, P. 704.
 (b) Hinsdale, B. A.: *The Old Northwest*, pp. 358ff.
 (c) Steiner, Bernard C.: *History of Education in Connecticut*, pp. 38ff.

5. *North American Review*, Vol. XVI (1823), P. 392.

barely knowledge enough 'to keep the teacher at a decent distance from his scholars.' An excellent suggestion was lately made on a branch of this subject, by a writer in a periodical publication. His proposal was, that a seminary should be founded, for the teachers of district schools; that a course of study should be prescribed to persons who are desirous of obtaining the situation of teachers in such schools; and that no individual be accepted as an instructor, who had not received a license, or a degree, from the proposed institution. The effects of such an improvement in education seem almost incalculable. The information, the intelligence, the refinement, which might thus be diffused among the body of the people, would increase the prosperity, elevate the character, and promote the happiness of the nation to a degree perhaps unequalled in the world."⁶

It should be added here that Mr. Russell later removed to Boston and in 1826 founded *The American Journal of Education*, the first educational periodical published in America that was continued thru a period of years. During the five years of Mr. Russell's editorship of this really excellent Journal he used his columns freely in advocating the needs of teachers' seminaries. Many interesting quotations could be taken did space permit.

The years 1825 was especially fruitful in normal school suggestions, there being offered three notable contributions to what I may call the literature of the subject besides many strong recommendations for the establishment of definite institutions. These contributions I will examine first, then note briefly some of the other recommendations.

It is significant that these three contributions came from as many states and from men each wholly unacquainted with the suggestions of the others; that is, there was no concert of action. The men were Walter Johnson of Pennsylvania, Thomas H. Gallaudet of Connecticut, and James G. Carter of Massachusetts. This unanimity as to the solution of the great educational problem, together with its almost simultaneous suggestion from regions so remote, says much as to the trend of educational thought, whether that trend was due to home or foreign initiative.

Walter Johnson 1825 Tho the demand for teachers' seminaries was not confined to New England, beginning to be heard, as it was, from as far away as Pennsylvania, it is only fair to say that a son of New England first voices the need from the distant field. In 1821 Walter R. Johnson, born and bred

6. Barnard, Henry: (a) *American Journal of Education*, Vol. X, P. 15.
(b) *Normal Schools*, (1851), P. 9.

in Massachusetts, and a graduate from Harvard, a teacher, and already deeply interested in the cause of education at large, accepted the principalship of an academy at Germantown, Pennsylvania, thus identifying himself with the educational problems of that state. He had not been there very long, however, before he found that educational conditions were in a much more backward condition than in his native state, even. And he soon became convinced that his principal field of labor, for a time at least, would be outside the walls of the academy, arousing and informing public opinion upon educational matters. But he was young, ambitious, and enthusiastic, and having put his hand to the plow would not turn back. He therefore entered vigorously upon his new work, and immediately set about improving conditions. He traveled and lectured, he wrote and spoke, he busied himself early and late, in season and out of season, with one thought ever before him—namely, better schools for Pennsylvania.

In 1822 he contributed for the Harrisburg *Commonwealth* a series of thirteen articles embodying his general views on common schools with pertinent suggestions for their improvement. The next year another series of six appeared in the *Journal of the Franklin Institute*. But his efforts at authorship were not confined to newspaper articles. More ambitious were his pamphlets. One put forth in 1825 is of special interest. It covered twenty-eight pages and was entitled "Observations on the Improvement of Seminaries of Learning in the United States; with Suggestions for its Accomplishment." In this he urged the immediate establishment of "schools for teachers," as the most important agency in the matter of improvement. I quote from this pamphlet:

"This need (the improvement of seminaries of learning) is proposed to be accomplished by the introduction of a class of schools hitherto unknown in our country, but for which the public exigencies seem loudly to call, and these are *schools for teachers*. This plan is not offered as in itself a novelty; it has long been in successful operation in some countries on the continent of Europe, particularly in Germany (a region to which modern learning owes more than the learned are all willing to acknowledge), and there its beneficial influence is seen in every aspect of society While every other profession has its appropriate schools for preparation, *that* on which the usefulness and respectability of all others essentially depend, is left to the will of chance, or '*to take care of itself!*' We have theological seminaries—law schools—medical colleges—military academies—institutes for mechanics—and colleges of pharmacy for apothecaries; but no shadow of an appropriate institution to qualify person for discharging with ability and success, the duties of *instruction*, either in these professional seminaries or any other.

Men have been apparently presumed to be prepared to *teach*, from the moment that they passed the period of ordinary pupilage;—a supposition which, with a few exceptions, must, of course, lead only to disappointment and mortification. . . . Many persons, we have reason to believe, commence the business of instructing, not only with few of the qualifications for communicating knowledge, but even without any fixed plan for proceeding, or any definite ideas of the peculiar duties or difficulties of the employment. . . . It is proposed to afford, by the institution in question, an opportunity, to those who are designed for teachers, of making themselves theoretically and practically acquainted with the duties which they will be called upon to discharge, *before* they enter upon the performance of their trusts. In order, however, to afford illustrations of the principles of education, it is indispensable that *practice* should be added to precept, and that, too, in situations favorable to the operation of those causes which display both the powers of the mind, and the peculiarities of the several departments of science and art. The school for teachers, then, ought not to be an insulated establishment, but to be connected with some institution, where an extensive range in the sciences is taken, and where pupils of different classes are pursuing the various departments of education adapted to their respective ages. The practice of superintending, of arranging into classes, instructing and governing, ought to form one part of the duty of the young teacher. The attending of lectures on the science of mental development, and the various collateral topics, should constitute another. An extensive course of reading and study of authors who have written with ability and practical good sense on the subject, would be necessary in order to expand the mind, and free it from those prejudices which, on this subject, are apt to adhere even to persons who fancy themselves farthest removed from their influence. . . . A perfect plan for the education of teachers and professors, would require that the institution, with which the school for teachers is proposed to be connected, should embrace a complete circle of the Sciences and the Arts, and that a professor should be appointed to lecture on the mode of teaching in each separate department.”⁷

But to the realization of such “a perfect plan” the writer sees two “insuperable” obstacles. In the first place, America possess at that time no institution embracing a “complete circle of the Sciences and the Arts” with which his proposed “school for teachers” could be connected; and again, he could see no way of securing the necessary funds. So he moderates his recommendation and suggests, for the present, the extension of the plan “no further than to comprehend:”

I—A course of lectures and practical illustrations on the

7. Barnard, Henry: American Journal of Education, Vol. V, pp. 799-802.

subject of *intellectual philosophy*, as connected with the science of education.

"II—A course of *physical education and police*.

"III—On the mode of conveying instruction in the *exact and physical sciences*, and the various descriptive and mechanic arts.

"IV—On the manner of teaching languages, belles-letters, history, and, in general, all those branches commonly classed under *philosophical department*."

He adds, "Each course must of necessity embrace a large number of particulars. Each has some affinity in its topics to all the rest, but not so near as to cause one lecture essentially to encroach on the province on another."⁸

From this point he proceeds to enlarge upon his brief statement of the four courses, and in the enlargement we see that he had in mind an institution very much in advance of the typical normal school of even our present day. Doubtless the very fact that his conception was so far beyond any possibility of immediate realization explains the reason that his suggestion received no consideration, even tho urged upon a committee of the legislature in 1833. But yet his plan is well worth consideration since in these days we are consciously attempting to plan for the preparation of secondary and even college teachers as well as for those of the grades, tho not, in general, in the same institution. And we find Mr. Johnson's plan, tho more than four score years old, very suggestive.

Thomas H. Gal- laudet 1825

In the same year that Mr. Johnson recommended his "school for teachers" there appeared in the *Connecticut Observer*, published in Hartford, a series of articles strongly advocating the establishment and use of teachers' seminaries. The writer was Reverend Thomas H. Gallaudet, a graduate of Yale College and of Andover Theological Seminary, a student of law, and an educational philanthropist of wide renown. He was at that time principal of an asylum for the education of the deaf and dumb which he had been instrumental in founding at Hartford, Connecticut.

These articles, called "letters," were put forth over the signature, "A Father," and from the first attracted a great deal of attention not only in Connecticut but in other parts of New England. So great was the interest manifest that later in the year they were republished in pamphlet form, in Boston, for general distribution. Selections from them found their way into the columns of various news-

8. Ibid.

papers. In 1828, and again two years later, the plan came up for discussion in educational conventions in Hartford. In 1831, William C. Woodbridge, then editor of the *American Journal of Education*, which had been established in 1826 by Mr. William Russell, wishing to keep the matter before the public asked Mr. Gallaudet for an abstract of the pamphlet for publication. So in January and February of that year the salient points were again placed before the public. It is that abstract that now lies before me and from which I quote. Inasmuch as we find in these articles the most thoro exposition of the subject yet presented and because of the general interest they aroused, their examination is well worth our while.

The writer calls attention to the fact that for the work of the ministry, the law, and the medical profession, there is demanded, as a prerequisite, "*a diligent course of preparation, and a long discipline in the school of experience.*" The practitioner in any of the professions, to merit our approval and support, must possess both knowledge and skill. "Now why should not this experience be resorted to as an auxiliary in the education of youth? Why not make this department of human exertion, *a profession*, as well as those of divinity, law and medicine? Why not have an *Institution for the training up of Instructors* for their sphere of labor, as well as institutions to prepare young men for the duties of the divine, the lawyer or the physician?"⁹

There is, of course, but one answer to such questions. But he went farther. He called attention to the well known fact that for the "common occupations of life," . . . "this preparatory discipline is considered indispensable." An apprenticeship must be served before even the artisan ventures "to solicit the patronage of the public." A man will not buy his shoes, a lady her gown or her bonnet of one who has not served such an apprenticeship. "Is a *shoe*, or a *bonnet*, to be put in competition with an *immortal mind*!"

Then, returning to his specific recommendation he says:

"Let the same provision, then, be made for giving success to this department of effort that is so liberally made for all others. Let an institution be established in every state, for the express purpose of training up young men for the profession of instructors of youth in the common branches of an English education. Let it be so well endowed, by the liberality of the public, or of individuals, as to have two or three professors, men of talents and habits adapted to the pursuit, who should devote their lives to the object of the 'Theory and Practice of the Education of Youth,' and who should prepare and deliver, and print, a course of lectures on this subject.

"Let the institution be furnished with a *library*, which shall contain all the works, theoretical and practical, in all languages, that can be obtained on the subject of education, and also with all the apparatus that modern ingenuity has devised for this purpose; such as maps, charts, globes, orreries, etc.

"Let there be connected with the institution a school smaller or larger, as circumstances might dictate, in which the theories of the professors might be reduced to practice, and from which daily experience would derive a thousand useful instructions.

"To such an institution let young men resort who are ready to devote themselves to the business of instructors of youth. Let them attend a regular course of lectures on the subject; read the best works; take their turns in the instruction of the *experimental school*, and after thus becoming qualified for the office, leave the institution with a suitable certificate or diploma, recommending them to the confidence of the public."¹⁰

The writer goes on at some length to speak of the advantages resulting from such a plan. Among such I note as of great importance, (a) the making of the little-appreciated work of teaching, "a profession;" (b) "*the formation of the best books to be employed in the early stage of education*;" (c) the elevation of the "*tone of public sentiment*" and the quickening "of the zeal of the public effort" in regard to education; (d) and likewise "the investigation and establishment of those *principles of discipline and government* most likely to promote the progress of children and youth in the acquisition of intellectual and moral excellence."¹¹ He then discusses and answers, satisfactorily it would seem to us, various objections likely to be raised. In his mind, the whole plan is sound, feasible and necessary.

Recommendation is here made, it will be noted, for the first time in the United States, tho common in some European countries for a generation, of that which has come to be looked upon as an indispensable part of a normal school—the "practice" or "model" school department. He had for it, too, a large function—one "in which the theories of the professors might be reduced to practice." Too often with us to-day the only professor whose theories are "reduced to practice" is the superintendent of this elementary school. And very frequently he has been selected not because he is a deep student of the science and the art of education, and therefore warranted in the holding of theories which are worth reducing to practice—but because of practical skill in management.

10. *Ibid.*, P. 27.

11. *Ibid.*

James G. Carter Taking up the third of the 1825 trio, I am led to say that Mr. Carter, like Mr. Johnson, prefaced his specific recommendation of schools for teachers by a general consideration of educational conditions. Like him, too, he was a graduate of Harvard and principal of an academy, Mr. Carter, however, in Lancaster, Massachusetts.

The son of a poor farmer, his early educational advantages were obtained in the common schools. As poor as were these schools they furnished the best advantages the boy could have till, somewhat advanced in years, he worked his way thru Groton Academy and Harvard College, graduating from the latter at the age of twenty-five. Knowing the public schools both as a pupil and a teacher, he was well acquainted with their general inefficiency; so, almost immediately on completing his course at Harvard and beginning his work at Lancaster, he began to cast about for means for their improvement. Like Mr. Johnson, again, his eye caught sight of the public press. In 1821 he began his contribution on educational topics to the Boston newspapers. These were continued at frequent intervals till 1824 when he launched a more ambitious venture in the form of a pamphlet of 123 pages entitled, "*Letters to the Honorable William Prescott, LL. D., on the Free Schools of New England, with Remarks on the Principles of Instruction.*" In these "Letters" Mr. Carter reviews the educational legislation of Massachusetts showing that the public school of the fathers, after being greatly neglected, had been largely superceded by the incorporated academies to the great detriment of the public school. Examining the defects of the schools, the chief ones are found to be "incompetent instructors, and bad school books." The incompetency is due, he holds, not to any studied neglect or conscious lack of interest, but rather to economic and industrial conditions. So many attractive opportunities for industrial enterprise are open, and the remuneration for teachers is so small that capable men hesitate "to become *permanent* teachers." And so he says that the whole body of instructors come from three classes of men:

1st. Those who have undertaken to teach, who had no better reason for it, than that the employment is easier, and perhaps a little more profitable, than labor

"2. A second class are those who are acquiring, or have attained a public education; and who assume the business of instruction as a temporary employment, either to afford a temporary emolument for the relief of immediate necessities, or to give themselves time to deliberate and choose some more agreeable and profitable profession.

"3. The third class is composed of those, who from conscious weakness, despair of success in any other profession, or who have been more thoroughly convinced by unfortunate experiment, that they cannot attain distinction, perhaps even subsistence, by any other means. . . ."¹²

This pamphlet immediately attracted attention. It was by all odds the best historical treatment the schools of Massachusetts had yet received, and likewise the clearest statement yet made of existing conditions. His suggestions upon principles of instruction were looked upon almost as authoritative. In October of the same year, Professor George Ticknor¹³ gave a very appreciative and highly commendatory review of the pamphlet in an eight page article in the *North American Review*.¹⁴ Two years later, in the first volume of the *American Journal of Education*¹⁵, published by William Russell, appeared a thirty-page abstract of the "Letters." Other periodicals of less prominence also quoted from them and commented upon them.

The year following the publication of the "Letters," 1825, Mr. Carter returned to the subject in a series of six articles in the *Boston Patriot* over the signature, "Franklin." These articles covered much the same ground as the "Letters," tho briefer, tho addrest more specifically to the public, and tho dwelling more at length upon the means for improving the conditions found to exist. The educational public immediately gave them attention which was accentuated when, the next year, they came out as a pamphlet of some sixty pages.¹⁶ The "Outline" especially, number six of the series, which was the culmination of the whole, was analyzed, discust, quoted, and generally commended. In January, 1827, Dr. Orville Dewey gave an extensive and appreciative review of the same in the *North American Review*.¹⁷

Mr. Barnard calls attention to the interesting fact that thru this review Mr. Carter's ideas became known in England and that thru them the English people probably had their first introduction to the broader idea of the professional education of teachers. He says that Professor Bryce, in planning a national system of education

12. Russell, William: *American Journal of Education*, Vol. I (1826), pp. 661ff.

13. Professor George Ticknor was son of Elisha Ticknor who has the honor of first suggesting teachers' seminaries for America. He was one of the first, if not indeed the first, of American students to seek educational advantages in the German universities.

14. *North American Review*, Vol. XIX (1826), pp. 448-456.

15. Russell, William: *American Journal of Education*, Vol. I (1826), pp. 604-698, 651-661, and 718-730.

16. Carter, James G. *Essays upon Popular Education; containing a particular examination of the schools of Massachusetts, and an Outline of an Institution for the Education of Teachers*. 60 pp. Boston: Bowles and Deerman, 1826.

17. *North American Review*, Vol. XXIV (1827), pp. 156-169.

for Ireland, speaks of the "Outline" as the "first regular publication on the subject of the professional education of teachers which he had heard of."¹⁸ This may not speak very highly of Professor Bryce's acquaintance with current educational practices, since, as we have shown, such institutions had been in successful operation in several European countries for many years. It is, however, very gratifying to note, and likewise suggests that the interchange of educational ideas was not as common in those days as in our own, and in this possibly answers our question as to why our own people had not long before this been sufficiently influenced by the German seminaries for teachers as already to have adopted them for our own.

Coming now to a specific, yet brief, examination of the "Outline" itself, we find Mr. Carter saying, touching the employment of such teachers as he mentioned in his "Letters:"

"This is the only service in which we venture to employ young, and often, ignorant persons, without some previous instruction in their appropriate duties. We require experience in all those, whom we employ to perform the slightest mechanical labor for us. We would not buy a coat nor a hat of one, who should undertake to make them without a previous apprenticeship. Nor would anyone have the hardihood to offer to us the result of his first essay in manufacturing either of these articles. We do not even send an old shoe to be mended, except it be to a workman of whose skill we have had ample proof. Yet we commit our children to be educated to those who know nothing, absolutely nothing, of the complicated and difficult duties assigned them. Shall we trust the development of the delicate bodies, the susceptible hearts, and the tender minds of our little children to those who have no knowledge of their nature? Can they, can these rude hands finish the workmanship of the Almighty? No language can express the astonishment which a moment's reflection on this subject excites in me."¹⁹

The generally unsatisfactory conditions found in the schools being traced in a large measure to the presence of "incompetent instructors," it was not difficult to point out the remedy. Better teachers must take their places. And in answer to the question as to how they were to be secured, Mr. Carter says, "Establish an institution for the very purpose. . . . It will be called a new project. Be it so. The concession does not prove that the project is a bad one, or a visionary, or an impracticable one. Our ancestors ventured to do what the world had never done before, in so perfect a manner, when they established the free schools. Let us also do what

18. Barnard, Henry: *American Journal of Education*, Vol. V, P. 413.

19. (a) Carter, James G. *Essays upon Popular Education* (1825), P.

36. See pamphlet cited in foot note 16.

(b) *North American Review*, Vol. XXIV (1827), pp. 163-164.

they have never so well done yet, and establish an institution for the exclusive purpose of preparing instructors for them."²⁰

Moving in the direction of detail he asks, first, by whom such an institution should be established, then, what should be its leading features, and finally, what definite advantages would be derived. His answers are clear and to the point. The institution should be established by the State, for the simple reason that, under our form of government, education is a State function. That being true, it is especially necessary that the institution designed to prepare teachers for the schools should be under State control that there might be secured "a uniform, intelligent, and independent tribunal for decisions on the qualifications of teachers."

The second query is answered by enumerating four "leading features."

"1. An appropriate library, with a philosophical apparatus. 2. A principal and assistant professor in the different departments. 3. A school for children of different ages, embracing both those desiring a general education, and those designed particularly for teachers. 4. A board of commissioners, or an enlightened body of men representing the interests and the wishes of the public."²¹

Mr. George B. Emerson, a contemporary of Mr. Carter, a prominent Massachusetts educator of national reputation, and himself deeply interested in the establishment of a school for teachers, has called the latter the "Father of Normal Schools." Dr. Barnard has spoken of Mr. Carter as the man "to whom more than to any other one person belongs the credit of having first attracted the attention of the leading minds of Massachusetts to the necessity of immediate and thorough improvement in the system of free or public schools, and of having clearly pointed out the most direct and thorough mode of procuring this improvement by providing for the training of competent teachers for these schools."²² And Dr. Hinsdale, speaking of the "Outline" now under discussion, says, "It is distinctly creative in character. In nothing that had appeared from the press thus far had the subject been so carefully thought out and presented, so far as the United States are concerned, as in this celebrated essay."²³

In view of these extraordinary testimonies, I think I should quote Mr. Carter, somewhat fully upon these four features:

"1. A library should of course be selected with particular reference to the objects of the institution. It would naturally and necessarily contain the approved authors on the science of educa-

20. *Ibid.*, P. 162.

21. Barnard, Henry: *Normal Schools* (1851), P. 78.

22. Barnard, Henry: *American Journal of Education*, Vol. X, P. 407.

23. Hinsdale, B. A. *Horace Mann* (1899), P. 55.

tion in its widest sense. It would embrace works of acknowledged merit in the various branches of literature and science intimately connected with education; such as anatomy and physiology, the philosophy of the human mind and heart, and the philosophy of language.

"Physical education forms a very essential part of the subject, and should be thoroughly understood. This branch includes the development of all the organs of the body. And works upon the physiology of children should be added to the library. Books on gymnastics, containing directions for particular exercises adapted to the development of the several organs, belong to the library of the accomplished instructor, as well as to that of the surgeon. Indeed, if the former properly use them, they will enable him to give a firmness to parts of the body which may, perhaps, supercede the necessity of the interference of the latter to set them right in manhood.

"The human heart, the philosophy of its passions and its affections, must be studied by those who expect to influence those passions and form those affections. This branch of the subject includes the government of children, especially in the earliest stages of their discipline. The success of the teacher here depends upon the good judgment with which he arranges and presents to his pupils the motives that will soonest move them, and most permanently influence their actions. The mistaken or wicked principles of parents and instructors, in this department of education, have, no doubt, perverted the dispositions of many children. If successful experience has been recorded, it should be brought to the assistance of those who must otherwise act without experience.

"Lastly, the study of the philosophy of language would be essential to the scientific teacher. The term language is not here understood to mean a class of words called Greek, or another class of words called Latin, or even that class of words which we call English. It means something more general, and something which can hardly be defined. It embraces all the means we use to excite in the minds of others the ideas which we have already in our own minds. These, whatever they are, are included in the general definition of language. This is a great desideratum in our systems of education. We do not possess a language by which we can produce *precisely* the idea in a pupil which we have in our mind, and which we wish to excite in his. And impatient and precipitate teachers quite often quarrel with their pupils because they do not arrive at the same conclusions with themselves, when, if they could but look into their minds, they would find that the ideas with which they began to reason, or which enter into their process of reasoning, are altogether different. Every book or fact, therefore, which would do anything to supply this desideratum, or enable the teacher better to understand precisely the idea which he excites in the mind of his pupils, should be collected in the instructor's library.

"2. The institution should have its principal and assistant professors. The government and instruction of a seminary for the education of teachers, would be among the most responsible institutions which could be assigned to men in literary or scientific pursuits. As many of the objects of the institution would be new, so the duties of the instructors would also be new. No commanding minds have gone before precisely in the proposed course, and struck out a path which others may easily follow. There are no *rules* laid down for the direction of those who will think upon, or who cannot understand the subject. Men must, therefore, be brought to the task who have the ability to observe accurately and discriminate nicely. They must also collect the results of what experience they can from books and from others, in order to enable themselves to form some general principles for the direction of their pupils, who will go abroad to carry their improvement to others. It is not supposed for a moment that all who may receive instruction at the proposed institution with the intention of becoming teachers, will necessarily be made thereby adepts in the science, any more than it is believed that all who happen to reside four years within the walls of a college are necessarily made experts in the mysteries of syllogisms and the calculus. But having seen correct general principles of education successfully reduced to practice, they may, at least, become *artists* in the profession, and be able to teach pretty well upon a system, the philosophy of which they cannot thoroughly comprehend.

"3. A school of children and youth of different ages and pursuing different branches of study would form an essential part of the institution. In the early stages of the education of children, the discipline should consist almost wholly of such exercises as serve to develop the different faculties and strengthen all the powers of the mind. And in the subsequent education of youth, when the discipline comes to consist partly in the development of the mind, and partly in the communication of knowledge, the course of instruction would be the same, whether the pupil were destined to be a teacher or not. The objects of the institution do not, therefore, become peculiar until after the pupil has acquired a certain degree of freedom and strength of mind; nor till after he has made the acquisition of the requisite amount of knowledge, for the profession of teacher. Though a pupil would necessarily imbibe a good deal of clearness and method in his intellectual exercises by submitting the direction of them to a skilfull instructor, the study of the science of teaching cannot properly begin till he changes relation with those about him; and, instead of following a course prescribed by another, and exhibiting the powers of his own mind without an effort to take cognizance of them, he assumes to look down upon humbler minds, to direct their movements, and to detect and classify the phenomena of their subtle workings.

"After the young candidate for an instructor, therefore, has

acquired sufficient knowledge for directing these exercises and teaching those branches which he wishes to profess, he must then begin his labor under the scrutinizing eyes of one who will note his mistakes of government and faults of instruction, and correct them. The experienced and skilfull professor of the science will observe how the mind of the young teacher acts upon that of the learner. He will see how far and how perfectly they understand each other, and which is at fault if they do not understand each other at all. If the more inexperienced teacher should attempt to force upon the mind of a child an idea or process of reasoning, for which it was not in a proper state, he would be checked at once, and told of his fault; and thus, perhaps, the pupil would be spared a disgust for a particular study or an aversion to all study. As our earliest experience would in this manner be under the direction of those wiser than ourselves, it would the more easily be classed under general principles for our direction afterwards. The part of the necessary course in an institution for the education of teachers might be much aided by lectures. Children exhibit such and such intellectual phenomena. The scientific professor of education can explain those phenomena, and tell from what they arise. If they are favorable, he can direct how they are to be encouraged and turned to account in the development and formation of the mind. If they are unfavorable, he can tell by what means they are to be overcome or corrected. Seeing intellectual results, he can trace them, even though complicated circumstances, to their causes; or, knowing the causes and circumstances, he can predict the result that will follow them. Thus every day's experience would be carefully examined, and made to limit or extend the comprehension of the general principles of the science. Is there any other process or method than this to arrive at a philosophical system of education? If any occurs to other minds, it is to be hoped that the public may soon have the benefit of it.

"4. The fourth branch, which I mentioned above as constituting an important part of an institution for the education of teachers, was a Board of Commissioners. Although they would, probably, have but little to do with the immediate government and instruction of the institution, they would be valuable to it by representing the wishes of the community, and by bringing it more perfectly in contact with the public interests. Besides, it must occur to every one, that in the general management of such an establishment, many of the transactions would require characters and talents very different from those that would, generally, be found in the principal or professors. Men might easily be found who would lecture to admiration, and yet be wholly incompetent to assume the general direction of the establishment. The professors, too, would always want assistance and authority in determining what acquisitions should be required for admission into the institution, and what proficiency should be deemed essential in the candidates before leaving it to assume the business of

teaching. Upon what principles should the school be collected? How shall the privilege of attending as new learners in the science of education be settled upon applicants from different parts of the State or country. These and many similar questions would render a body of men distinct from the professors, important to the institution."²⁴

In answer to the third question raised, as to the advantages to be derived, he speaks first of raising the "character of teachers generally," and, therefore, of the schools which they teach. This thought is expanded at some length and the far reaching consequences of better schools shown. Then the advantages sure to flow from such a library as contemplated are sketched, likewise from the elevation of the work of the teacher into "a more distinct profession" that he thinks would inevitably follow. All in all, the "Outline" seems to merit the high praise accorded.

But Mr. Carter's interest in the common schools, or efforts for their betterment, did not cease with these publications. In his "Outline" he uttered the prophecy that schools for teachers were bound to come, saying that if the State did not look to their establishment and thus place her seal upon the work private enterprise would. He had the courage of his convictions. In 1827 he presented a memorial to the State legislature praying for financial assistance to carry out his plan of establishing "a seminary for the education of teachers, with model school attached." The memorial, together with a recommendation of Governor Lincoln that such an institution be founded, was referred to a special committee. The matter was carefully considered and a recommendation returned that the request be granted. In speaking of the plan as outlined in the memorial, the committee say in their report:

"From a mature consideration of his plan of instruction, they are unanimously of opinion, that it is entirely practical in its character, simple in its details, and peculiarly calculated to develop the powers of the mind, and that the studies it requires are brought wholly and appropriately within the pale of downright utility."²⁵

A bill making a suitable appropriation was therefore drawn up, but failed by a single vote of passing the senate. But the town of Lancaster, in which Mr. Carter had been teaching for several years, came to his assistance and, thru the appropriation of some land and the use of an academy building, enabled him to open as a private

24. (a) Carter, James G. *Essays upon Popular Education* (1825).
(b) Barnard, Henry: *Normal Schools*, (1851), pp. 78-80.

25. Russell, William: *American Journal of Education*, Vol. II (1827) P. 154.

enterprise the first institution of its kind in the state. He bought several dwelling houses to accommodate his teachers and students, and opened the institution the same year. But opposition arose among those failing to appreciate his work, various obstacles were thrown in his way, financial reverses came, and he was obliged to discontinue the enterprise. But not even with these reverses did his efforts for better things educational cease. In 1830 he assisted very materially in the organization of the American Institute of Instruction, and appeared on its first program with an address on the subject dear to his heart, "The Necessity and most practical Means of raising the Qualification of Teachers." From 1835 on for several years he was a member of the State legislature—house and senate—and here as elsewhere did yeoman's service for popular education.

Governor Lincoln of Massachusetts

But it was not merely educators who were interested in the matter. So much had been said and well said, in so many places and at so many times had the subject been presented, that many people in different walks of life had become interested. Even the governors of several of the states finally entered the arena in favor of the proposed institution. Reference has already been made to Governor Lincoln's recommendation that the seminary prayed for in Mr. Carter's memorial of 1827 be founded. He could not, however, secure the passage of the bill. But he had other opportunities of assisting, and always availed himself of them.

In 1825 a movement was started in Massachusetts looking toward the establishment of what was popularly called a "Practical Seminary," or a "Seminary of the Useful Arts and Sciences." Some called it an "Agricultural Seminary." It was designed to do what we might term to-day sort of an elementary school of technology. A resolution of the legislature of February 22, 1825, created a Board of Commissioners for the elaboration of the plan. The Board was directed to draw up a plan for an institution " . . . to afford economical and sufficient instruction, in the practical arts and sciences, to that class of persons, who do not desire, or are unable to attain a collegiate education."²⁶

After mature deliberation the Board, on the 26th of the month, presented an elaborate report recommending the institution and suggesting an appropriation of \$30,000.00 for its establishment. The scheme was somewhat chimerical. The proposed institution

26. *Ibid.*, Vol. I (1826), pp. 86-87.

was very decidedly of an omnibus nature and therefore drew to its support men of all classes and with wholly different ideas, each doubtless hoping that his own pet interest would be fostered. The Commissioners were shrewd enough to recognize this fact, and in their report made definite appeal to various interests. Among other things the institution would be the long desired seminary for teachers. This sop was offered: " . . . if the proposed institution should accomplish no other object, it would well repay the bounty of the State, in becoming a *nursery for schoolmasters*; and to effect that object, they would recommend, that a department be organized in the school, for the express purpose of qualifying in the most economical way, such persons as shall resort to it, with the views of obtaining instruction for that occupation."²⁷

The following May, Governor Lincoln, in a message to the legislature, refers specifically to this report but without clearly endorsing the recommendation. It would seem from his remarks that the redeeming feature of the scheme, to his mind, was that which seemed to promise provision for the education of teachers. He said:

"The qualifications of instructors deserve much more of care and attention. . . . Knowledge in the art of governing, and a facility in communicating instruction, are attainments in the teacher, of indispensable importance to proficiency by the pupil. These talents are as much to be acquired by education as are the sciences themselves. It will merit the consideration of the legislature, when discussing the expediency of the institution of the proposed seminary, whether provision for the preparation of a class of men to become the instructors in the public schools, in branches of learning adapted to the present conditions and wants of the country, is not among the highest of the inducements to the measure, and should be an object of primary and definite arrangement in its adoption."²⁸

But the Commissioners' report was not adopted. The institution was not founded. But the gain to the normal school idea of its further discussion was well worth all the effort that had been put forth.

In Governor Lincoln's 1827 message he again refers to the matter of an institution for the education of teachers and says that if the finances of the State do not justify an institution devoted wholly to that work, it might be well to make an annual appropriation to such of the incorporated academies as should provide a satisfactory course of study. "The wants of the community in this respect are unquestionably great, and with a growing population will be

27. *Ibid.*, P. 160.

28. *Ibid.*, P. 436.

continually increasing.”²⁹ It is interesting to note here that Governor Lincoln’s suggestion of utilizing the academies for this purpose was very similar to one that Governor DeWitt Clinton had already made in New York, and the solution that that State, for several years, gave to the problem.

These were the recommendation that, together with Mr. Carter’s memorial, already referred to, came before the Massachusetts House Committee in 1827. Mr. W. B. Calhoun, chairman of the committee presenting the report, said, “. . . public opinion concerning it may with safety be said already to have become unquestionably settled.”³⁰

Altho Massachusetts had taken the lead, she was not the only state interested in the solution of the great educational problem, nor the only one which furnished pioneers in the work. The great weakness of the school system, likewise the remedy for the same, was being clearly recognized in many other places. Attention has already been called to efforts toward better things put forth in Pennsylvania. In New York, Ohio, and even in far-off Tennessee were the waters moving.

Away back in 1811, in New York, we hear an earnest voice pleading for better teachers. Governor Tompkins had recently appointed a commission “to report a system for the organization and establishment of common schools.” To John Murry, Jr., a member of the commission, James Wadsworth, one of the greatest benefactors the common schools of the Empire State ever had, wrote urging especially the need of good schools, but going even farther and saying, “teachers should be trained at Albany and New York, and sent through the State.” If that should not seem feasible, he suggested that a “model” or “central” school be established in each county for that purpose. Again and again as the years went by did he return to the matter and, in one way or another, urge the establishment of schools for teachers.

Governor Clinton of New York

Governor DeWitt Clinton, likewise of New York, had this matter at heart and often spoke of it with intelligence and practical common sense.

In his annual message to the legislature in 1825 he urged upon their consideration, “the education of competent teachers.” The next year, dwelling more at length upon the matter, he used the following words:

29. *Ibid.*, Vol. II (1827), P. 444.

30. *Ibid.*, P. 153.

"The vocation of the teacher in its influence on the character and destiny of the rising and all future generations, has either not been fully understood, or duly estimated. It is, or ought to be, ranked among the learned professions. With a full admission of the merits of several who now officiate in that capacity, still it must be conceded that the information of many of the instructors of our common schools does not extend beyond rudimentary education—that our expanding population requires constant accession to their numbers—and that to realize these views, it is necessary that some new plan for obtaining able teachers should be devised. I therefore recommend a seminary for the education of teachers in the monitorial system of instruction, and in those useful branches of knowledge which are proper to engraft on elementary attainments. A compliance with this recommendation will have the most benign influence on individual *happiness and social prosperity*."³¹

In 1827, following the governor's recommendation of the former year, the legislature passed an act providing for such a seminary. But the measure was not carried into effect. So in his 1828 message he again referred to the matter: "It may be taken for granted, that the education of the body of the people can never attain the requisite perfection without competent instructors, well acquainted with the outlines of literature and the elements of science."³² In this work he was strongly aided by Mr. A. C. Flagg, Secretary of State and *ex-officio* Superintendent of Common Schools. In 1827 Mr. Flagg recommended the establishment, in the several counties, of schools for the education of teachers.

Governor Worthington of Ohio

Likewise from the then distant West comes a plea for better things: in 1817, in his message to the legislature of Ohio, Governor Worthington made an interesting suggestion touching the matter at hand:

"If we expect in our youth 'religion, morality, and knowledge', suitable teachers must be employed. . . . With a view to aid in affecting this desirable object, I recommend to the consideration of the general assembly the propriety of establishing, at the seat of government, a free school; at which shall be taught the different branches of an English education, at the expense of the state, to such a number of boys, the children of parents unable to educate them (and no others) as the legislature may deem proper. That whenever young men, thus educated, shall become qualified for that purpose, they shall, when proper salaries are furnished them, have the preference of employment in

31. (a) *Ibid.*, Vol. I (1826), P. 59.

(b) Barnard, Henry: *American Journal of Education*, Vol. XIII, P. 241.

32. *Ibid.*

the public schools of the state, and shall be obliged to serve as teachers of schools until they are twenty-one years of age; and afterwards, as long as they conduct themselves well, have the preference of employment."³³

Philip Lindsley 1825 Another recommendation to the same general purport was made in the distant Southland. In

1824 Philip Lindsley was chosen President of Cumberland College, Nashville, Tennessee. In his inaugural address, January 12, 1825, he spoke on "Education" and showed not only a clear grasp of the great function of education in a free State, but as well an acquaintance with the lamentable conditions then existing. He likewise as clearly showed that he knew the remedy. I quote but a few words, but enough to substantiate the claims made.

"Our country needs seminaries purposely to train up and qualify young men for the profession of teaching. Though the idea perhaps may be novel to some persons, yet the propriety and importance of such a provision will scarcely be questioned by any competent judges. We have our theological seminaries, our medical and law schools, which receive the graduates of our colleges and fit them for their respective professions. And whenever the profession of teaching shall be duly honored and appreciated, it is not doubted but that it will receive similar attention, and be favored with equal advantages."³⁴

Summary It has been shown that by the year 1830 the inadequacy of the efforts put forth educationally was clearly recognized. It has likewise been seen that the weak point of the system was found to be in the teaching force. Poorly prepared, poorly paid, little regarded, the teachers were falling far short of their great possibility as an uplifting, directing and potent force in the expanding life of the nation. Nor were leading educators deceived as to the best means of betterment. Seminaries for teachers were advocated. Institutions devoted to the one work of preparing young people for that great work had long been recognized as a necessity both by educators and statesmen. More than that, the matter had taken definite form in the minds of many, and carefully wrought out plans for such institutions had been offered the public and even urged upon the legislatures of leading States. Mr. Calhoun's words to the Massachusetts legislature, already quoted, are none too strong: " . . . public opinion concerning it may with safety be said already to have become unquestionably settled."

33. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, P. 82.

34. Halsey: *The Life and Works of Philip Lindsley*, Vol. I, P. 50.

But no action followed. Such an institution had not been seen in actual operation, and its utility was, therefore, questioned by a sufficiently large number to defeat its establishment in any of the American States.

In a despotic government the conversion of a single person (if the right one) is sufficient to secure the adoption of a certain measure; thus a Frederick the Great, alone convinced, can revolutionize the educational practices of his realm; a Maria Theresa, by her single *ipse dixit*, can scatter teachers' seminaries and normal schools among her people; and the French Minister of Education can but speak the word and lo! a normal school arises in each of the several departments. Not so in democratic America. Here the ruler is the people, *e pluribus unum*, and the *many* must see the wisdom of a measure before its adoption. Mr. Martin puts it well: "The sovereign people can not be driven; they can only be coaxed or persuaded. Give light enough and time enough, and things will come out right."³⁵

But there had not been "time enough" for an adequate consideration of so important a matter, nor "light enough" to portray it clearly to all people. And it had to wait. It will be the purpose of the next two chapters to show from whence came the "light" and how long a "time" was needed for its full effect.

35. Martin, G. H. *Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System* (1894). P. 163.

The Evolution of College Debating

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THE year 1912 marks the twentieth anniversary of the birth of intercollegiate debating in America. On January 14, 1892, three Yale debaters journeyed to Cambridge, Massachusetts, to uphold against Harvard the affirmative of the question, "Resolved, That a young man casting his ballot in 1892 should vote for the nominees of the Democratic party." This contest came about as a result of an effort to stimulate literary and debating activities at both these eastern universities. Like all innovations, the scheme met with ridicule and opposition. Yale and Harvard had long been rivals in athletic combats, but such a thing as an intercollegiate debate was altogether too absurd. However, after two years of agitation the conservatives yielded, and the experiment was started.

Need I answer the question, "Did the experiment succeed"? That first debate surprised even its most ardent boosters, and Yale and Harvard have been repeating the experiment with increasing success ever since. That they have never failed to hold an annual debate during these twenty years lifts intercollegiate debating out of the experimental stage. And this is verified by hundreds of other colleges as well that have tried the experiment for themselves. In 1893 Michigan began debating with Wisconsin; the next year came Pennsylvania vs. Cornell and Leland Stanford vs. California. Each succeeding year added a score of others, until today one will search a long while to locate a reputable American college that does not maintain a debating team. Recently it was stated that there are approximately five hundred colleges holding from one to four debates yearly, making in the aggregate about one thousand debating teams of three men each. Even high schools have caught the spirit and are active with their scholastic leagues. If the future of intercollegiate athletics is certain, so, too, intercollegiate debating, an intellectual contest for the development of sound thinking and effective speaking, has come to stay. And in the list of important dates in education we claim a place for January 14, 1892, as the intercollegiate-debating birthday.

But doubtless some would like to know which side won in that initial debate. There were no judges and hence no formal decision.

Is this not significant? *Then* the mere matter of winning was considered of secondary importance; the real object was a search for truth, a frank discussion of a current problem. But as Grover Cleveland was elected that fall, I suppose Yale in upholding the affirmative or Democratic side claims she got nearer the truth, and won. Another significant feature about this 1892 debate is the comment, "The audience was large, representative, and enthusiastic." And yet I venture to entitle my paper the *Evolution* of college debating. You may surmise what actually is the case, that we are to look for signs of evolution in other matters than that of the "large and enthusiastic audience."

Now, in order that I may not do what we condemn in debaters—"Talk beside the point"—I shall, for the sake of clearness and convenience, group what I have to say under the following topics:

ARGUMENTATION COURSES IN THE CURRICULUM

A generation ago scarcely a college catalog made mention of a special course in Argumentation and Debate. To be sure, some attention was given to argumentative discourse in connection with English composition, but nothing like a full year's course was offered. To my knowledge the first text-book on the subject appeared in 1895. This was by Professor George P. Baker of Harvard University, whom we recognize as the father of the systematic teaching of argumentation in our colleges. Now, nearly every college offers in the English department, or in the department of Public Speaking, at least a one-year course in debating, and several have an advanced course for the second year. The advancement during the last two decades has been noteworthy. And to the students themselves largely belongs the credit; for the teaching of argumentation has come as a result of their enthusiasm for debating and the desire for training, rather than the reverse.

But what does such a course embrace? It is the usual procedure to begin, by aid of a text-book or lecture syllabi, with the study of fundamental principles,—the analysis of a question, the kinds of reasoning, the mustering and arrangement of evidence, types of fallacies, methods of refutation, the construction of a brief, and effective presentation. With the growth of debating there has come a wealth of illustrative material; and instead of formal, abstract logic the aim is to make concrete application of each principle. Then after a few weeks, the laboratory work or actual debating begins.

The effort is to make these class-room forensics both in form and in spirit like an actual public debate. It is my own custom, for

instance, to have the debaters sit upon the platform, to appoint a presiding officer and a time keeper, and to allow the students to determine by ballot which side wins. This lends a dignified atmosphere and furnishes the stimulus of a real intellectual fight. Then the next day we spend the full hour in criticising the debate. We analyze wherein the affirmative or negative won, what arguments were well substantiated, what fallacies were evident, what methods of refutation were employed, where persuasive delivery was effective,—in fact we point out all the principles we thought noticeably well illustrated, (or in some cases badly violated). Furthermore, whenever the class attends an inter-society debate or an argumentative public address, the next recitation day is sure to call forth a spirited discussion. These criticism hours are profitable to both instructor and students. As the study of prose specimens is essential in English composition, so this criticism plan seems an indispensable method of explaining and emphasizing certain debating precepts.

Now a word of justification about brief-drawing. Frequently we are assailed with the question, "Why make students spend so much time in preparing briefs; why don't you have them work on their delivery?" To be sure, it is laborious work, but its value can not be over estimated. We insist that the brief (usually ten to twenty-five pages in length) present in concise, tabulated form the history and origin of the question, the statement of the main issues, the definition of terms, and whatever expository matter is necessary for an understanding of the debate—and then a logical array of evidence and authorities to effect a thoro proof. In other words, a brief is a campaign map by which a side hopes to win. This is in accord with the modern conception of debating; for now the emphasis is placed upon thoro investigation and keen thinking, rather than upon contentious, fire-brand oratory, or clever plunges of wit and sarcasm. There is hope for the quiet, undemonstrative boy who investigates and reasons well, but lacks persuasive power; for training can assist him in oratoric delivery. But the flashy, eloquent spell-binder can often never be made into a debater. Keen, analytical power and the investigating habit are prerequisites; oratory is a later acquisition.

There is no fault more common among young debaters than that of unsupported assertion. Mere say-so is never proof; the familiar phrases, "We believe," "it seems to us," "I maintain" only emphasize the lack of investigation. Now the preparation of briefs is a safeguard against this very error. We insist that each contention be supported by convincing evidence, just as in demonstrating a

geometry proposition, one must give a reason why two angles are equal. Furthermore it is a safeguard against the use of irrelevant matter. When a debater cannot find a logical place in his brief for certain material it is the test of its being extraneous. Every incident, every quotation, every fact, to be admitted into a brief must show for its credentials that it serves to substantiate some contention. Evidence of the wisdom of brief-drawing can be gained from the testimony (or confession, if you will) of the students themselves. I have yet to meet a sane student who decries the value of the brief in preparing debates. Yes, briefs are as essential in argumentation as maps in history or charts in engineering.

This, perhaps, is sufficient to explain the nature of argumentation courses, and to indicate that they have been one factor in the evolution of college debating.

SUBJECTS AND EQUIPMENT

No longer do debaters indulge in such once favorite exercises as, "Which is more destructive, fire or water?", "Is gold more valuable than iron?", or "How many angels can stand on the point of a needle?" The thing which has lifted debating above the worthless, medieval quibbles is the employment of present-day problems in economics, politics, society, and education. The mere sharpening of the mind in ways of arguing is a by-product; the main purpose is enlightenment, a fullness of knowledge on questions that college men must face as citizens. A list of recent intercollegiate debates includes such subjects as: Reciprocity with Canada, the Open Shop, Recall of Judges, Income Tax, Initiative and Referendum, Direct Primaries, Central Bank, Employers' Liability for Accidents, Commission Plan of Municipal Government. Who can say that school debates on these current problems are not a veritable source of enlightenment? When there cease to be social problems, debating will cease, and not before.

With better subjects for discussion, has appeared also a more suitable equipment. Very serviceable are the various bibliographies, reference books, and pamphlets, especially arranged for forensic use. And more than this, the debater has come to realize that he must couple with ready-made equipment, his own diligent search for first-hand evidence. Some time ago a Wisconsin college in preparing a debate on the prohibition question sent representatives clear to the state of Maine to make a personal investigation. A visit to the debaters' room in a university library, where the table is heaped with pamphlets, reports, charts, magazines, and personal letters indicates

to what extent debaters must go in their research. For this reason their forensics are often times as thoro as the discussions in Congress.

For this advancement in subjects and equipment, special credit is due to the departments of economics, political science, and sociology. Without their assistance, college debating could not be conducted in any thing like its present standard. The rise of the social sciences has made possible this form of forensics; the two are supplementary, inter-active. The faculty committee on debates usually consists of a professor of economics, a professor of sociology, and an instructor in English or public speaking. This provides for instruction in both subject material and expression; matter is dealt with first, and then manner; for it is fundamental that impression must precede expression. In the selection of questions, in the gathering of material, and in the interpretation of evidence, these instructors in the social sciences are indispensable; their presence at the practice debates is a safeguard against erroneous statements and antiquated theories. For it is not to be supposed that the instructor in oratory can keep himself informed in these specialized fields.

The student, then, aspiring to attainment in argumentative discourse must look well to his equipment. The more thoro his knowledge of history and the social sciences, the more likely his chances of success. I repeat it: Fullness of knowledge and vigorous thinking are the fundamentals in debating. Coupled with this equipment should be the power of vigorous expression, oral and written. Elocution of the old style has gone forever, and in its place has arisen a sane guidance in the principles of gesture, voice training, platform deportment, and the like. In proportion as students have developed in this union of thoro *impression* with effective *expression*, the evolution of debating has taken place.

DUAL AND TRIANGULAR LEAGUES

The establishment of leagues has done much to relieve the financial and executive problems of intercollegiate debating. The older form was that of a dual league, but soon the advantage was seen of introducing a third college to form a triangular arrangement. Today there are also pentangular leagues—notably those of Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Wisconsin; and Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas.

But the three-cornered plan as adopted by Harvard, Princeton, Yale; Amherst, Wesleyan, Williams; Chicago, Michigan, Northwestern; Oregon, Washington, Stanford; (and several others) has been retained as the most satisfactory. A distinct advantage is that

the three debates take place the same night, and on the same question. This enables each college to have two teams—an affirmative and a negative. The value of this in preparation is obvious. At the final contest, the negative of the question is usually upheld by the visiting team. For instance, one year Williams sends her negative team down to Amherst, Amherst sends her negative to Wesleyan, and Wesleyan in turn sends her negative up to Williams. The next year there is a reversal so that the undergraduates may hear a different college. The negative is assigned to the visitors on the ground that the rigid burden of proof entailed upon the affirmative is offset in part by the advantage of speaking before a familiar audience.

The management of such a round-robin league is delegated to an executive committee, consisting of a representative from each institution. A written compact for three years provides for the schedule of debates, selection of judges, length of speeches and all other matters except the local arrangements. The question is chosen in a rather ingenious way. Early in the fall, or more often in the spring of the preceding year, each college submits to the secretary of the executive committee two debate questions. Then these six constitute the list, on which each college votes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, in order of preference. The question thus receiving the lowest total is deemed to be the one chosen. In the event of a deadlock the colleges take another ballot on the two equal-score questions. The visiting delegation pays its own railroad expenses, but is entertained at the expense of the home college. From this is seen the desirability of forming a league with institutions which geographically represent a triangle.

SELECTION OF INTERCOLLEGIATE TEAMS

The most efficient method of selecting 'varsity debaters is still a matter of controversy. Of several plans employed, two are particularly noteworthy. The older, and unquestionably the more satisfactory method is found at Harvard, Dartmouth, Bowdoin, Williams, and most of the other eastern institutions. The plan is simple and fair. The preliminary trial, open to any undergraduate student, consists of a five minute argument on either side of the intercollegiate question. From this, twelve are selected by a faculty committee for a further try-out. In order that these men may have opportunity at rebuttal, they are divided by lot into two affirmative and two negative teams, of three speakers each. Two regular, semi-public

debates (each an hour and a half in length) are then held; at which time a different set of judges makes the final decision.

North Dakota, on the other hand, follows a plan that is typical of many western universities. The men are chosen from a series of inter-society debates. In the fall each literary society chooses its three representatives and challenges some other society for a public debate. A two weeks schedule of inter-society debates on various questions is arranged, and five judges are appointed to attend all these contests and select the inter-collegiate teams. As a special safety device or escape valve, there is also a free-for-all debate open to non-society students, and men disappointed in not making their society team.

Here is an instance where the writer does not feel that the new method marks an evolution. The older plan seems more desirable from the standpoint of both the college and the literary society. In the first place, it furnishes the judges a more adequate means of selecting the best teams. The several society debates are on questions varying widely in difficulty. Now it does not follow that because a man excels in a discussion of the recall of judges that he will necessarily be effective when placed on a question as technical as that of a central bank, or the single tax. Mr. A., perhaps, is the son of a banker and has first-hand knowledge of banking problems; quite likely he is the man for a monetary question. Mr. B. knows nothing of this, but has specialized in the field of railroad transportation and is ready to handle a question of railroad rates. Evidently there is a far better basis of judgment when all the candidates present arguments on the exact question of the inter-collegiate contest. One can then estimate the men in their comparative thoroughness of preparation, analysis of the question, handling of evidence, and general argumentative effectiveness.

The second advantage is that it means a considerable saving of time for the busy debaters. And this is not so trivial a matter as it might seem. I have heard students remark: "No, I'm not going out for the team this year. I simply haven't the time. I would have to try out for my society team, and then if I made it, study up the question and enter the inter-society contest. Then should I be chosen from this, I would have to throw overboard my material and work up an entirely different question. No, I can't do all this." But a contest on the intercollegiate subject, eliminates this researching thru two questions. Furthermore, when twenty or thirty men appear in the preliminaries, all on the affirmative or negative of the same discussion, some original arguments are sure to be presented. These

men who do not make the teams are always very willing to turn over their material. After the semi-finals, the subject has been thrashed out so completely on both sides, that the teams require but little coaching for the inter-collegiate contest.

There is still a third advantage to the college in the older method of selection—it is in accord with our growing conception of campus democracy. What would you think if the baseball coach should choose his 'Varsity nine by selectig players from the inter-fraternity games? Suppose he said, "Now I will watch the Beta-Sig game this afternoon, and pick two from each team; tomorrow I will choose four more from the Psi U-Phi Delt game." What would you say to such procedure in athletics? Yet, that is precisely the policy often employed in selectig 'Varsity debating teams. Should not the best six debaters in the University be chosen, regardless of whether they belong to the same literary society? Why should it be thought necessary to divide the plums among the several societies, when a larger university interest is at stake?

Nor is this new method as advantageous to the societies themselves, as it might appear. It is not surprising that their debates lack team work. Each man's primary aim is to make the 'Varsity, and incidentally to have his society win. Mr. A. wants to appear to the judges as a brilliant individual debater, and consequently often has five opponents instead of three. In the nature of things, there is a conflict of loyalty; he would like to have his team win, but more than that he is eager for individual honor. No, the system is wrong. Were the inter-society debates distributed thruout the year, instead of congested into ten days, and made purely a team contest with no consideration of choosing inter-collegiate debaters, I believe a splendid improvement would be effected.

THE MATTER OF JUDGING DEBATES

Those who have been attending debates for several years must rejoice in the new method of judging. In the old arrangement the judges used to retire, and by consultation attempt to render a unanimous decision. The suspense for the audience was tedious. One time in a Yale-Princeton debate, the judges were out one hour and twenty minutes. Grover Cleveland, who presided, tells us that it was one of the most miserable hours he ever spent, trying to pacify the audience, and to ignore the frequent calls for "Speech."

The unfairness of this jury method became apparent. If the opinion was two to one favoring the affirmative, and the minority judge was a strong-willed, persuasive man, it was quite likely a

question of time in influencing the other two to the negative. The present method is simpler and absolutely fair. The judges are not allowed to confer during the debate, but simply hand their sealed ballot to the usher. These are opened and read aloud by the presiding officer. Sometimes he reads the three ballots to himself before making the announcement, but it seems better to read each one as it is opened. The writer recalls one instance where the chairman announced the first ballot, 'affirmative,' the second, 'negative;' and then make a few remarks before opening the third. The effect upon the audience was exasperating.

The selection of capable, impartial judges is sometimes a problem. An attorney or judge, a professor, and a keen business man are considered a well balanced group of judges. As these three types of men have had different training they see things from different angles. The consensus of their judgment ought to stand unquestioned. Men who are strongly opinionated on the particular subject for discussion are often debarred. When an economist is radically opposed to the single tax, naturally the contentions of the affirmative seem to him fallacious. The case is analogous to that of empanelling a jury; those who have not formed a strong opinion are the more desirable; it is easier for them to determine which side gets nearer the truth.

A discussion sometimes arises as to the basis of judgment: How much ought arguments to count, and how much delivery? It is the old controversy of matter vs. manner. In the evolution of debating we are coming to realize that arguments are the main consideration, and that oratoric expression is secondary. Some, even, instruct the judges to mark 75 per cent on subject matter and 25 per cent on delivery, but such mathematical precision seems unwise. When playing tennis, altho I may be crude and clumsy—wretched in form—yet, by actual points scored I may win out. The same is true in debating. But of course if I am weak in delivery—crude enunciation, feeble voice, sleepy appearance—why indirectly that counts against me because the judge necessarily misses my points. Nor ought credit to be given to arguments that are completely overthrown by opponents. I once heard a judge at an inter-collegiate contest explain his method of judging: "After I hear the first debater I put down some number as 5; then if I like the next man much better I give him, say 7, then the third one may drop down to 2. Then, after I have heard all six, I add up and see which side has the larger score." What absolute absurdity! If we are to have recall of court judges, it ought to apply to such incompetent debate judges.

Frequently the managers of the two teams arrange to meet the judges just before the debate, and present them written instructions, so to avoid misunderstanding. The following is a copy of the instructions sometimes used:

(A) *The award shall not be made on the merits of the question, but on the merits of the debate:* That is to say, consideration as to what may seem to a judge the intrinsic merit of either side of a question should not enter into, or determine the award; but the award ought to be made to that college team which evinces greater argumentative ability and better form as speakers.

(B) In determining argumentative ability, the judges should take into consideration thoro knowledge of the subject, power of analysis and structure, logical sequence, skill in selecting and presenting evidence, and effectiveness in rebuttal.

(C) In considering the form of the speakers as distinguished from their arguments, the judges should regard bearing, quality of voice, pronunciation, enunciation, ease, and appropriateness of gesture, and directness, variety and emphasis in delivery.

(D) Altho delivery is of some consideration, it should be remembered that *matter is more important than form*. Validity of arguments presented is the main thing, and delivery secondary, and should one team excel in matter, and the other to an equal degree in form, the award should go to the former.

FACULTY COACHING

In the contracts of some triangular leagues appears the provision: "There shall be no faculty coaching." Is not this, too, significant of an evolution? In football, professional coaching seems necessary, but ought a purely intellectual contest to be put on the same basis? After a debate, ought it to be known that Professor So-and-so's team won? In high schools there may be need for detailed coaching, but among university students it ought largely to be dispensed with. When a professor of English or public speaking teaches a course in argumentation, ought not his class-room instruction to be sufficient guidance? That educational system is weak which does not stimulate college men to do real vigorous thinking for themselves. There is altogether too much reliance on ready-made arguments, and not enough individual research. Now if we pedagogs can agree to keep our hands off, and let the boys learn to sift evidence and present their own arguments, shall we not ultimately contribute to the development of college debating?

Don't think me an extremist. I believe it is well for faculty

members to give suggestions and help the debaters in locating material, but what I do denounce is an instructor's furnishing the entire line-up of arguments, and then coaching the boys how to say those pet ideas. Let's work to make inter-collegiate debating distinctive among contests—distinctive in that the students themselves do the work.

This year Yale won over Harvard, for the first time in several years. The comment of Professor F. R. Fairchild who had charge of the Yale debaters is significant. He says: "It is generally felt that the University has good reason to be proud of the showing made by the debating team this year. It is probably not so generally known that the credit for this result belongs more than in other recent years, to the debaters themselves. Heretofore there has been chosen, more or less formally, a regular debating "coach." He has been expected to give up a considerable part of his time to the work of studying the question, gathering evidence, working up arguments, etc. Occasionally this method has reached the extreme of typewritten arguments prepared by the coach and handed out to be memorized and delivered by the several members of the team. This year nothing of the sort was attempted. After an evening devoted to discussion of the question, the debaters, divided into affirmative and negative teams, were turned loose to work up their cases. At the succeeding meetings the two sides presented their arguments, which were then criticised and torn to pieces and the debaters again left to reconstruct their arguments, strengthen the weak places, and present them again for the same kind of criticism. This criticism, together with some suggestions from other members of the faculty, was all that the debaters had in the way of coaching. No outsider looked up the evidence or developed the arguments. And no outsider can claim credit for the result. The debaters can know that what they accomplished they did themselves. It seems to the writer that this is the way to carry on debating. The plan of the regular coach verges too much on the professional. The coach cannot help feeling that his own reputation is at stake, that he must win at any cost, that he cannot afford to leave the developments of the arguments to the debaters, but must himself work up the strongest possible case. The debaters on the other hand, are in danger of feeling that they are little more than automatons to deliver the ready-made arguments put into their mouths."

EXCHANGE OF BRIEFS

Lawyers before pleading a case in court submit a brief, outlining the arguments for prosecution, or defence. Many are advocating a

similar arrangement in debating—an exchange of briefs at least three weeks prior to the debate. It seems imperative for both sides to have the same analysis of the question, and to agree to disagree on the same issues. This would prevent the all too frequent parallel-track debates, and insure head-on collisions. It would also tend to eliminate strategy, and to make the debates frank, public discussions, where the judges have simply to determine which side gets nearer the truth.

High school debates, in particular, are given over to trick plays; the attempt is to win by stealing a march on their opponents. "Never mind about enlightening the audience, just spring these unexpected points at the last moment, and see if it doesn't swamp the other side." Recently I acted as judge on the Parcel Post question. The affirmative won unanimously, but it is doubtful if they would have won, had there been a previous agreement on a definite plan of parcels post. The affirmative worked the surprise by advocating government ownership of express companies. The negative naturally, had taken the usual interpretation of that question—simply the eleven pound extension of the United States mail service—and being inexperienced debaters were unable, on the spur of the moment to change their line of attack. Therefore, their contentions of expense, competition with private enterprise, unfairness of flat rates, etc., were wholly beside the point; in other words, both sides were discussing such totally different systems, that a clash of opinion was impossible. Had there been an exchange of briefs, all this misunderstanding (or perhaps conscious trickery) would have been avoided.

But, you say, debating should fit one to meet the situations that occur in actual life. How many times, however, in a public discussion does a speaker have to *guess* what the issues will be? The debates in Congress, for instance, are on a definite well defined proposition. The bill is drawn up and the arguments pro and con are quite generally known. There is no attempt to delude, and then spring the unexpected. In public discussions, people are willing to tell beforehand their line of reasoning. Why should it not be so in debating, if our aim is to enlighten by searching out truth?

Yes, the next evolutionary step will be the exchange of briefs. What two colleges will take the initiative?

THE COURTESY AND ETHICS OF DEBATE

In athletics we are hearing less about charges of professionalism, "ringers," muckerism; there is a growth of good sportsmanship among college men. The same is true in debating; *the courtesy of*

debate has become a proverbial expression for fair-mindedness. The cheerful manner in which the rules are adhered to, even in the midst of intense controversy is remarkable. At the announcement of the decision, how delightful it is to see the defeated team rush over to congratulate their opponents. There is a magnanimous, whole-souled spirit among debaters. At the banquet following, the intensity of a skirmish vanishes; the victors and the conquered sit side by side in a jovial exchange of wit. Such relationship evinces that there is something in debating which makes manly men.

The growing spirit of courtesy was impressed upon me by attending the inter-collegiate—or rather international—debate between the University of North Dakota and the University of Manitoba at Winnipeg. The cordiality with which we were greeted by our English rivals, showed about the city and University, and given a reception and banquet was refreshing. Then in the debate itself there was splendid courtesy. Our boys were given the choice of position on the platform, and allowed to determine the manner of keeping time; on the platform with the Union Jack were our stars and stripes; then as our boys did not have academic gowns, the Canadians courteously removed theirs; and not once did either side descend into sarcasm and bitterness; it was an illustration of how students may argue intensely and still be gentlemen. And I wish those who believe a visiting team have a hostile audience to overcome, could have heard the vigorous cheering given our boys; a stranger could scarcely have told which was the popular side. I returned from that contest assured that the courtesy of debate is a growing reality.

The *ethics of debate* has reference to the matter of honesty. Sometimes dishonesty creeps in. Not long ago, I attended an inter-society debate on the Recall of State Judges. One affirmative speaker wished to show concretely just how corrupt state judges are. Now, in a certain issue of Pearson's magazine was a vivid account of a corrupt *federal* judge. In quoting portions of this, in order to make it pertinent to the debate, he omitted the word *federal*. The next speaker on the negative had evidently read the same article, and when it came time for him to speak, he walked over to his opponent, asked for the magazine, and exposed to the audience the dishonest trick by which the word *federal* had been crossed out. Such deception violates the ethics of debate and is rarely seen. A person who wilfully juggles statistics, or tampers with quotations to misconstrue the meaning forfeits his confidence with an audience; he has not realized that a fundamental in debating is honesty.

Interesting situations often occur that test a debater's ethics.

One time on the ship subsidy question, a speaker gave elaborate figures about ship-building. They were given so rapidly (not intentionally) that the opponents were at a loss to take them down accurately. After he had taken his seat, one of them arose and asked if he would repeat the figures slowly. There was some reluctance on his part, but he finally did so. Had he refused his debating ethics would have been questionable. I recall another situation. One speaker used a very clever, original chart to explain an intricate problem. When the next speaker appeared, he requested that the chart be brought forward in order that he might expose the fallacies. Cheerfully, tho conscious of defeat thereby, he turned over the chart to his opponent.

Yes, I am convinced that the twenty years have developed a growth in both the courtesy and the ethics of debate.

RECOGNITION OF DEBATERS

That there has been an increase in the amount of recognition given to intercollegiate debaters is apparent. To discuss the various methods of honoring them would make an interesting study. We find that at Yale the men are given gold watch-charms, bearing on one side the head of Demosthenes, and on the other the name of the owner, and the debate in which he took part. Harvard grants "shingles" or certificates to the effect that the owner has represented his Alma Mater in debate. Several colleges are endeavoring to honor alike those who excel in music, debate, oratory, and dramatics by presenting watch fobs bearing the official emblem of the college. The University of Michigan even believes in material compensation, and grants her debaters sums of money.

One of the recent forms of recognition is the granting of three or four hours of credit. This, however, seems objectionable. There is a growing tendency to cheapen the curriculum by allowing participation in student activities to count for credits. Oratory, debating, student publications, glee clubs, and the like, are all clamoring for substitute credit. "How much credit will I get out of this?" is a too frequent question. A versatile student who is on the debating team for three years, and active in other fields, need elect but a few hours a week to meet the diploma requirements. There can be no question but that the training and experience on a debating team is as valuable to a student as any course in the curriculum. We hear a man say, "Why, I wouldn't swap what I got out of debating for any two courses in college." But even so, ought it to count on the

registrar's books? If we are to give credit for debate work, where are we to draw the line with other activities?

I am aware that one of the reasons urged for this credit, is that the debaters, relieved by dropping one course, can spend more time in preparing material. But, as a matter of fact, the debates usually come in the middle of a semester, and the course is not dropped until the following semester, when the debate work is all over. Now, if we wish to relieve the debaters, why not do so at the time when they are working the hardest? What they want is enough time for thoro investigation. If the instructors would be willing to excuse them from burdensome class-room assignments during the three or four weeks previous to the contest, it would satisfy the need. In such courses as English, public speaking, economics (and debaters are quite likely to be enrolled in these classes) it is a fair proposition to substitute debate work for special reports and assignments. Such an arrangement—which is our custom in North Dakota—seems more feasible than that of granting actual credits.

But the real growth of recognition is to be found not in externals—in the granting of badges, certificates, and credits—but in the awakened student sentiment. When a man is made to feel by the attitude of his fellow students that one of the greatest honors that can come to him is to represent his Alma Mater in debating, then we have a worthy type of recognition. Demonstrations by bon fires, band music, and parades are quite essential for athletic celebrations, but we do not expect the same exhibition of enthusiasm for debate; it seems inappropriate for an intellectual contest. But what we do take pride in is the increasing student sentiment that quietly exalts debating and puts an honor-premium upon debaters.

Nor is recognition lacking outside of the college gates. The statement from the head of a prominent business concern is significant: "Yes, I employ several college men. Other things being equal, I like one who has excelled in debating. I find that the ability he has acquired to analyze problems, to think quickly and keenly, to contend with opponents fiercely, but honorably has an application in business." This is the type of recognition that is worth while.

A FINAL WORD

Dare I say another word about debating? While I have no exhortation for the students, I cannot resist a final remark to colleagues in the teaching clan. I realize that every teacher is prone to extol his own particular field, and to wonder at the indifference from other people. But when students are discussing a political or

economic problem, is it not to be assumed that college professors should be generally interested? Yet, one is led to assert that at the inter-collegiate debates, the percentage of attendance from the student body far exceeds that from the faculty. There is nothing that so encourages, so inspires a debater as to feel that he has the wholesome support of his teachers, particularly if they teach in wholly different fields. That instructor who cares only for a student's success in his own department and scoffs at activities not immediately connected with it, is narrow in the extreme. "Charity for all" is needed in the diversified curriculum. I like what Professor Lyman of the University of Wisconsin says in his article in the *Century* (October, 1911). To illustrate that certain faculty members are not unknown to pooh-pooh at debating, he mentions the case of a professor of history who complained because a boy making C grades in history was praised for being a debater of grade A. The assumption is that his teaching of history lacked the stimulus of a good fight.

There are several other debate problems that invite discussion, but I fear I have already said too much. My aim has been merely to stimulate a higher regard for college debating, and to indicate in what ways the twenty years have worked an evolution.

The New Grammar

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THE New Grammar will soon be reality, and a newest science be added to the list. The days of "Sturm und Drang," when philologically untrained advertisers brought out book after book, each with a new "system" founded upon some new name for some old usages, are definitely and forever past. But why "New Grammar"? The individual phenomena are so familiar that every child of fourteen is expected to know them, but a careful, logical study of the facts of language is so new that knowledge still walks in some fields with uncertain and fearful step.

The New Grammar has been slow in the making. Other sciences, based as they are upon large bodies of fact, yield nevertheless to comparatively rapid investigation, for knowledge of them is possible to the single individual from careful manipulation, observation, reasoning, and invention of devices. The New Grammar is different. It requires the comparative standpoint, both in point of language and of nationality. America cannot perform the task alone, neither can Germany nor Russia. English cannot be studied solely for itself and by itself, but must be considered also as a part of the great Indo-European family, with its roots in the past and its close-knit branches entangled with Danish, Dutch, Latin, Greek, Norman French, Modern French, New High German, Spanish Spanish, American Spanish, American Indian, and all the others that have left a trace on form, sound, or construction. From this it is evident that the New Grammar is impossible without the cooperation of a large body of philologically trained scholars, each thoroly competent to understand and compare the exprest thoughts of men in more than one language. In other words, the difficulties of the New Grammar are enormously greater than those of any other science in that they involve not only long and severe training, but also a thoro and accurate understanding of the spirit of several languages. Furthermore, as constraisted with more "practical" sciences, the hope of individual financial reward must be replaced by the altruistic idea of time-saving for generations of students. All these obstacles the New Grammar has had to meet; all these difficulties it must gradually overcome.

The study of grammar may be said to have had three periods, the ancient, the transitional, and the modern. In the ancient era, lasting until about the beginning of the nineteenth century, Latin was to such an extent the dominant language that the modern languages were considered hardly worth serious study. In Germany, for instance, it was not until Theodor Körner, Arndt, Lessing, Goethe and Schiller had reversed the attitude toward the German language fostered by Frederick the Great, who spoke and wrote only French, that a careful exposition of German grammar seemed worth while. Heine and Schiller both complain, indeed, of their lack of grammatical knowledge of their mother-tongue, a knowledge to be obtained in their day only by a long process of torture in Latin grammar which it was impossible for either to accomplish triumphantly.

It is indeed to the Latin grammars of the period of about 1800 that all modern grammars owe the most of their terminology to-day. The similarity of German to Latin grammar, naturally very great, led grammarians to follow terms, usages, categories common in the Latin books, obscuring in great measure the very essential differences between the two languages. Even now in this enlightened twentieth century, that patriarch of German grammars written originally by Johann August Heyse, retains in its twenty-seventh edition many of the outworn terms and conceptions of a century ago. Nor is it alone in this. For other modern languages, conditions being improved greatly in Swedish and French, the situation may be considered practically the same. The grammar in the ancient period is unscientific, uncritical, not coherent or systematic.

The transitional period embraces practically the nineteenth century. It begins with genuine progress, in that Jakob Grimm and his followers, themselves following Swedish and Danish models, attacked the problems of morphology and phonology from a comparative standpoint, with the result that these departments of grammar attained to authoritative presentation. They paid, however, little attention to dialects, and practically none to phonetics. The more difficult problems of syntax were not yet solved. Form and sound, indeed, yielded much more readily to study than syntax, which implies relation and intimate understanding. Syntax is almost a science in itself. During the century of change the attitude of scholars toward syntax has undergone a complete swing of the pendulum. The beginnings of syntactical study implied the essential unity for the Indo-European languages of case or mood-usage, without careful analysis of differences. Still the syntax of cases presented

comparatively few difficulties, the uses varying from language to language with fusion or dropping of cases or endings. But there grew during all this period a tangled underbrush of terms, systems, methods, so that a few years ago no man knew accurately the syntax of the verb, and there were traces of atavism in other fields. The endeavor was constantly to obtain coherence within the individual system of grammar for the individual language, even at the expense of scientific accuracy.

It was a professor of Latin who pointed the way out, Professor William Gardiner Hale of the University of Chicago, who since the eighties of the last century has maintained the essential unity of syntax in the Indo-European languages, even in the case of the verb, where the greatest differences appear, and most particularly in the complex, difficult mood called the subjunctive. But neither Professor Hale nor his pupils (of whom the writer is one), nor the Latin and Greek languages alone could by comparison with English furnish complete data. A movement was therefore started for a simplification of grammatical nomenclature on a scientific basis, which is destined to result in much saving of time and effort in language study.

In 1906 a committee of fifteen was appointed in France to recommend a uniform system of nomenclature for French grammar. Its reports in 1907-8 and 1909 resulted in 1910 in the publication of a ministerial circular entitled "*La nouvelle nomenclature grammaticale.*" An English joint committee of fifteen to cover grammatical terminology in English, German, French, Latin, and Greek, appointed in 1908, reported in 1910. In 1910 a German committee was appointed at Frankfurt am Main, to report in two years. It was to consider terminology in German, English, French, and Italian grammar and to cooperate with the English and French societies. The Neuphilologen-Verein of Vienna appointed in the fall of 1911 a similar committee representing Latin, Greek, German, English, and French. The committee appointed by the Modern Language Association of America in 1906 was the second in the field, the first to suggest uniform grammatical nomenclature for several languages, but the last to get under way. The committee met with various delays, the scope of the work gradually enlarging, until largely thru the efforts of Professor Hale, ably seconded by Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, a joint Committee of Fifteen was appointed by the National Education Association, the American Philological Association, and the Modern Language Association, representing in its personnel the various languages—English, German, French,

Spanish, Italian, Latin, and Greek—, the Department of Superintendence, the Department of Education, the school, college, and university points of view. The national committees will have the assistance of a large body of carefully trained scholars with adequate means of communication, so that an early establishment of the facts of the New Grammar may now be reasonably expected.

Furthermore, aside from the saving of time and energy, a solution of the problems of grammar will give the science its true standing among other sciences. Then, its foundations firmly laid, language shall advance to conquest in new fields, not the least of which is progress in the speech of the common people.

Mr. Wilbur's Studies in Entomology

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EVERYONE knows that Lowell was a humorist, altho a great many do not seem to realize how merry and rollicking his fun is. His puns which often, as in the first part of the *Fable for Critics* or in such a poem as *The Unhappy Lot of Mr. Knott*, explode and sparkle down the page like a bunch of firecrackers, and his many other quips and sudden whimsical turns of thought and expression are irresistible because spontaneous and entirely characteristic. They abound in his letters, and, according to report, were frequent in his familiar conversation. They even creep into his serious writings, sometimes, indeed, laying him open to the charge of levity; and yet, after all, they are so entirely natural to the man as to be much enjoyed by the reader who has learned really to know him. To tell the truth, Lowell was even to the end a good deal of a *boy*. He seemed to have discovered the fountain of eternal youth, and, like many a merry youngster, was always over running with fun just for the love of it.

An example of this is found in his editing of the Bigelow Papers. These poems tho conceived with a serious purpose were hastily struck off in the heat of the discussion over the Mexican War, and at first had little pretense of unity or sequence. The Yankee dialect was adopted, not primarily as a merely humorous device but because Lowell thought that it would enable him to say some things in a more direct and pointed way than would be possible in conventional language. Yet he realized that in this form he could not fully express all he wished to say. As he himself puts it: "I needed on occasion to rise above the level of mere *patois*, and for this purpose conceived the Rev. Mr. Wilbur, who should express the more cautious element of the New England character and its pedantry, as Mr. Bigelow should serve for its homely common-sense vivified and heated by conscience. The parson was to be the complement rather

than the antithesis of his parishioner, and I felt or fancied a certain humorous element in the real identity of the two under a seeming incongruity. Mr. Wilbur's fondness for scraps of Latin, tho drawn from life, I adopted deliberately to heighten the contrast."¹

The genesis of Mr. Wilbur, Lowell more fully explained in a letter to his friend Thomas Hughes (author of *Tom Brown at Rugby*) under date of Sept. 13, 1859, as follows: "I tried my first 'Bigelow Paper' in a newspaper and found that it had a great run, So I wrote the others from time to time during the year which followed, always very rapidly and sometimes at one sitting. When I came to collect them and publish them in a volume I conceived my parson editor with his pedantry and verbosity, his amiable vanity and superiority to the verses he was editing, as a fitting artistic background and foil. It gave me a chance, too, of glancing obliquely at many things which were beyond the horizon of my other characters."

As a part of this editing, Lowell represented Mr. Wilbur as pedantically fond of Latin, and even went so far as to introduce an advertisement for a forthcoming book in Latin by the reverend gentleman. As this advertisement is itself written in Latin, it is probably nowadays skipped by at least nine-nine out of every hundred who dip into the *Bigelow Papers*. And yet this Latin advertisement is a capital example of what Shakespeare calls "admirable fooling." One can imagine Lowell working over it in high glee recalling to mind scraps of his classical reading and looking up various queer out-of-the-way words in an English-Latin lexicon. He no doubt chuckled a good deal over Mr. Wilbur's investigations into the genus Humbug, and probably enjoyed hugely his various thrusts at the political and critical shysters of his time. Accordingly, it has seemed worth while to translate the passage that it may be accessible to readers of Lowell who find difficulty (and difficulty there certainly is) with the original. It must be confessed that much of the fun vanishes when the odd Latin sentences are Englished, but enough remains to give us a peep at the merry mind and happy good humor of one of our greatest countrymen.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Quite a number having declared that they will be purchasers of the book, George Nichols of Cambridge will publish a work about an important but hitherto neglected department of natural history with the following title, namely:

1. Introduction to *Bigelow Papers*.

An Attempt at a Somewhat More Perfect Account of the Buzzing Beetle, Commonly called Humbug, by Homer Wilbur, Master of Arts, President of the Natural History Society of Jaalam (also Secretary and Fellow—the only one alas!) and perchance a future Fellow of many other learned (or unlearned) societies both at home and abroad.

INTRODUCTION

To the Gentle Reader:

Before I had left college, having carefully investigated the various entomological systems, which have been very painstakingly worked out by men most deeply versed in this science, I could not help perceiving with regret that, tho otherwise most worthy of praise, they all made an omission of great importance. Then being led by some impulse from above or captivated by the charm of the work, I (like another Curtius) solemnly devoted myself to filling up the gap. Nor did I relinquish the task thus imposed by Fate until I had completed a little pamphlet somewhat inelegantly couched in the vernacular.

Then puffed up with boyish enthusiasm and never having plumbed the depths of the folly of booksellers (to say nothing of the "Reading Public"), I thought I had composed something which men would (so to speak) swallow like hot cakes. But when I had submitted my manuscripts to one publisher after another, and was returned to my study with nothing more substantial than an emphatic *No*, a great horror and pity for the Lambertian² dullness implanted by the wrath of the gods in the skulls of fellows of this stripe seized me. Forthwith I determined to publish the book at my own expense, having no doubt at all that the "World of Science" (as the saying is) would amply fill my purse. However, I reaped no crop from my poor little field except the empty satisfaction of deserving well of the Republic. This precious bread of mine having thus been cast on the turbid literary waters, befouled as it were by the touch of the Harpies (namely those rascally booksellers mentioned above) returned home to me in a few days. And then when I could not myself live on such food, it occurred to me for the first time that the baker (that is to say, the printer) would nevertheless have to be paid. Yet I did not on this account lose heart; but, just as little boys hold their little boats in hand by a string (in order that when drifting from their proper course they may draw them back to the bank), with firm

2. Evidently a reference to the famous English fat man, Danish Lambert (1770-1809).

purpose I recalled from its quest of the golden fleece my paper Argo trailing in the waves, I myself rather having been the one to be shorn and skinned. To change the metaphor, I drew back my boomerang which was going wide of its mark until, occasion serving, I might hurl it with greater force.

But while I was brooding over these plans, and trusting, like Saturn, the famous child-eater, to subsist on the offspring of my brains, I was overtaken by a pitiable tho not unheard of misfortune. For just as they say the Scythians, because of their piety and parsimony devoured their dead parents, so this, my first-born son, more cruel than the Scythians, attempted to swallow me, altho alive and kicking. However, I did not on this account disinherit my hungry child. Indeed I rather regarded this hunger of his as a sign of virility and strength, and sought food for satisfying it, keeping, however, my own hide whole. And as I perceived that money was the only suitable thing for his gushing gastric juice to digest, I looked around to see where I might easiest raise a loan. Under these circumstances, I got my uncle to supply the necessary money so that there might be no need of my leaving the university before taking the bachelor's degree. Then wishing to protect the interests of my generous benefactor, I assigned to my aforesaid uncle all the copies of the first edition of my work as yet unsold together with the privilege of printing and publishing the same for ever. From that day marked with a black stone, insistent and ever increasing family cares constantly assailed me to such an extent that I never could free that precious pledge from the brazen chains.

After the recent death of my uncle, when among the other relatives I went to hear the reading of the will, my eager ears were greeted by these words:

"Since I am convinced that my beloved nephew Homer by long and intimate acquaintance with poverty is a most suitable person to guard riches and to use generously and prudently what the gods have intrusted to him,—therefore, moved by these ideas and because of my great affection for him, I give and bequeath to my dear nephew aforesaid these possessions of mine, all and singular, not to be weighed or counted, which follow, to-wit: five hundred books which the said Homer pledged to me in the year of grace 1792, with the privilege of publishing and reprinting this scientific work of his (as they call it) if he so choose. Nevertheless, dear God, I pray thee to open the eyes of my nephew Homer and move him so that he will hide away these books of his in the library of one of his many castles in Spain."

When I had heard these hardly credible words, my heart leaped in my bosom. Then, since the pamphlet written in English had disappointed the hope of its author, and since on account of the din of party strife the study of natural history is at low ebb in our republic, I determined to put out a Latin edition. I was also led to this decision because I do not know what is the good of academic training and two diplomas unless they make us skilled in the dead languages (and damned, too, as that rascal, William Cobbett, used to say). But all of the first edition is in my hands still, and I retain it as the rattle on which I used to cut my eye teeth.

A Specimen of the Work.

(According to the example set by Johannes Physiophilus in his specimen of Monkology)

Humbug Number 12. Military (Wilbur); Butcher (Jablonsky)³ *Accursed* (Desfont)⁴ (Fabricius)⁵ inappropriately calls this species the cyclops which is distinguished by an eye single to its own interest. Isaac Noman more happily maintains that there is no distinction between the military humbug and the devil bug. (Fabrians, 152). It inhabits the southern states of America.

Gorgeous with gold stripes; very often, however, dirty, as one wont to frequent butcher shops, attracted by the smell of blood. He likes to sun himself astride the fence, and cannot be dislodged from his perch without great trouble. His popular name is *Candidate*. His head displays a crest as of plumes. For his food he cleverly milks the public cow; his paunch is enormous; his power of suction is hard to estimate; lazy, fatuous; fierce nevertheless and always ready to fight. He creeps like a snake.

Altho I have frequently dissected his brains with the greatest care, I have never been able to detect even that rudiment of a brain common to almost all insects.

Concerning this military humbug, I have noted one peculiar fact, namely, that this bug uses slaves from Guinea (see Fabricius, 143) and is therefore held by many in very great respect as showing marks of almost human intelligence.

Humbug Number 24. Critical (Wilbur); Zoilean⁶ (Fabricius); *Pygmaean* (Carlsen) (Johannes Stryx very foolishly confuses this species with the *pointed* bug (see Fabricius 64-109). But altho I

3. Jablowski, Karl Gustave (1756-1787), a Prussian entomologist whom Lowell represents as having also distinguished the species, and assigned it to a name.

4. Des Fontaines, Rene Louiche (1752(?) - 1833) a French scientist.

5. Fabricius, Johann Christian (1745-1808). A Danish entomologist.

6. Zoilus was a captious Greek critic in the 3rd century B. C.

have submitted as many specimens as possible to microscopic examination, I have never found a single one showing indications of any point whatever).

Exceedingly fearful and when pursued hides itself in the nearest anonymous chink frequently crying out, *we, we*. Foolish, lazy.

He lives everywhere in the world where it is dry; making his nest by tireless boring. As for his food, he lives on books: especially dry ones.

A Simpler Explanation of the "Potential" and Related Uses of the German Subjunctive

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I. THE PROBLEM

OF all difficult problems in grammar, none is creative of more apprehension in the mind of the student than the subjunctive. From the first year of Latin, when as a student he first meets a whole long list of rules perfectly meaningless to him and as a rule equally meaningless to the teacher, to the days when as professor he writes a grammar of his own, he is wont to regard the subjunctive as a dark mystery no man can fathom. And the feeling is even increased by positive ignorance and false teaching. It is no uncommon thing for students to inform their University teachers that the subjunctive is indicated in English by "may" or "might," assuming that thus the last word has been said on the subject. The difficulty has of course been in the narrow, unscientific view commonly taken of the study of the verb, in fact, of language study in general. The actual facts are however that with a comparative viewpoint the study of the verb becomes comparatively simple, and the subjunctive, if more difficult than the indicative, is certainly so only because more complex; nevertheless even the subjunctive can be sufficiently understood by any ordinary pupil.

Of the three finite moods found in modern Teutonic languages the Imperative alone has a perfectly defined single use, that of direct order, command, requirement, direction, with varying degrees of urgency according to the tone used. All other finite verb-uses of whatever nature must be taken by the indicative or the subjunctive. In English the subjunctive is rudimentary, owing to loss of endings; in German and untrimmed Icelandic, and to some extent in Norwegian-Danish and Swedish, thanks to fuller inflection, the mood presents a considerable variety of form and usage. Thus, while the scheme of subjunctive uses here given will hold in great part for other Teutonic languages, the discussion will be confined to New High German in the main. For convenience also, most illustrations will be taken from Schiller's "Wilhelm Tell," which presents most usages necessary for the beginner to know.

The uses of the primary subjunctive, being for the most part Indo-European, are quite limited and well defined; so also are the indirect uses, whether in indirect discourse or not; consequently we need here deal in detail only with those uses of the secondary subjunctive which come under neither head, a group frequently classed as "Potential." These uses are very nearly identical in English and correspond roughly to similar uses of the Latin Subjunctive and the Greek Optative.

What is the "Potential?" The term covers a multitude of uses and is exceedingly difficult to define accurately. We may therefore take up a number of objections to the term, with a view to obtaining as simple a conception as possible.

To begin with, the term is overworked and inaccurate. A student not versed in the ways of grammar and grammarians, on meeting the term the first time, naturally assumes that it has something to do with possibility (*Möglichkeit*). But he finds the term applied in grammar to a great variety of uses, to which Professor Hale in the Hale-Buck Latin Grammar gives a number of various names, such as Anticipation, Obligation or Propriety, Natural Likelihood, Ideal Certainty, in addition to Possibility, which is comparatively rare. And no one who has not had the term "Possibility" drilled into him from early childhood can discover the "Possibility" present in such cases as:

1071 *Wer kennt Euch nicht?*

Is there any one who does not know you?

2142 *Wie, wenn wir seiner in der Not jetzt brauchten?*

What if we should now make use of him in the emergency?

1926 *Er hätte jetzt zehnfachen Tod gefunden.*

He has now, I am sure, experienced death tenfold.

What about the term "Subjective Possibility?" Perhaps we might call it that; but the possibility is in the "*wer*," the "*wie*," the context of the last clause quoted. The "subjective" part of the term will be discust later.

Second, authorities are not agreed. If the category were clear, there should be no difficulty in the matter: the term "Potential" would mean the same for one man as it does for the other. But as it is every subjunctive not otherwise classified is thrust into the potential pigeon-hole. If the grammarian has many categories, the potential group is likely to be small; if few, the term is extended to all uses except those included by Professor Hale under the terms "Optative" and "Volitive," and possibly to some of those. If our

hypothesis is correct, the use of the term "Potential" should be confined to those cases in which the subjunctive can be accounted for in no other way. Perhaps even there the possibility may not be the reason for the subjunctive.

Again, the term is of recent origin, depending on an application of Kant's categories to grammar. Subjunctives have been used by Germans for thousands of years; the term "Potential," or at least its widespread and inaccurate use, dates back only about a century, being adopted from the Latin grammars which appeared about that time. These in turn, adopting Kant's categories, fixt upon "Reality" (*Wirklichkeit*) as the general characteristic of the indicative, Possibility" (*Möglichkeit*) as the attribute of the subjunctive. The term, in Latin "Conjunctivus potentialis," is used in its original sense in the twenty-sixth edition of the Heyse-Lyon grammar and the latest edition of Willmanns; Professor Curme uses it in a somewhat different but quite as extensive sense.

In the fourth place, language does not deal with philosophical categories. Scientists are attacking all problems in all fields with closer and closer powers of analysis. In the early days of agriculture and war, just as now in the pioneer sections of our own nation, men busy with action did not analyze and split hairs as they did in the speculative age of the eighteenth century, the investigative age of the nineteenth, or do now in the research age of the twentieth, or will in the approaching constructive age. We may be certain that German did not work in philosophical categories in the days of its making, nor does the history of languages warrant any statement that it does so to-day. We may imagine that the German used this mood or that because he felt it thru his language-sense (*Sprachgefühl*). He used the subjunctive because it exprest a certain attitude or group of attitudes toward ideas, not because it belonged to a certain philosophical category.

Fifth, The subjunctive has no monopoly on the expression of possibility. There are indicatives which indicate possibility quite as much as do subjunctives. As this use is descriptive rather than dramatic, we may expect to find practically no examples in "Wihlelm Tell." Still we may cite:

Stage direction at beginning of first scene. *Ueber den See hinweg sieht man die grünen Matten von Schwyz im hellen Sonnenschein liegen.*

Out across the lake can be seen in the bright sunlight the green meadows of Schwyz.

34 *Durch den risz nur der Wolken Erblickt er die Welt.*

Only thru the rift in the clouds can he see the world.

Certainly the indicative expresses just as much possibility in the conditional clause (protasis) of

3198 *Ich konnte glücklich werden*

Wenn ich der Wünsche Ungeduld bezwang.

I could have become happy if I could have stilled my wishes' wild impatience.

as the subjunctive in the protasis of

1872 *Wär' ich besonnen, hiesz' ich nicht der Tell.*

Were I wont to consider consequences, I should not be called Tell.

Similarly in the following purpose clauses the indicative has as much right to the term "Potential" as the subjunctive—

340 *Pfleg' ich Rats, wie man Der Landesfeinde mutig sich erwehrt.*

I shall take council, how we may defend ourselves bravely from our country's foe.

1188 *Dasz du den Apfel treffest auf den ersten Schusz.*

(Take good aim) that you may hit the apple at the first shot.

Sixth, the idea of possibility is frequently otherwise expressed in clauses which contain a subjunctive often called potential. Such expressions may be a) a modal verb, such as *er könnte, möchte, dürfte*, etc.; b) a phrase, such as *es wäre möglich*; c) by a particle or adverb, *doch, wohl, vielleicht*, etc.

656 *So möchten wir vielleicht etwas vermögen.*

In that way we might possibly be able to do something.

1700 *Wo wär' die sel'ge Insel aufzufinden?*

Where could the blissful Isle be found? (*sein* plus *zu* with infinitive).

1908 *Ein andrer wohl bedächte sich.*

Another might perhaps stop to consider.

Unless we have a large number of potential subjunctives in which there is no doubt whatever that the subjunctive alone is responsible for the idea of possibility, we are not justified in assuming that the mood is responsible in these instances. If now we exclude the various ideas presented under the first objection we shall find our attempt quite impossible. And it may be that even these uses will be found to indicate not mood-force, but some thing else.

In the various uses of the secondary subjunctive, exclusive of the indirect use, we have seen that possibility cannot in any real sense account for the use of the mood, for

1) There are many cases in which the idea express is perhaps allied to possibility, yet is certainly not possibility; 2) authorities vary greatly in the application of the term, this itself indicating a haziness in the conception; 3) the term as applied to grammar is only about a hundred years old, being then introduced from Kant thru Latin Grammar; 4) possibility, as applied to the subjunctive, represents a reasoned system of philosophy, a phenomenon presented by no language in existence; 5) Possibility is not infrequently implied quite as much in indicative clauses as in subjunctive clauses; 6) even in subjunctive clauses possibility is frequently express by modal verbs, phrases, or adverbs. We need therefore have no hesitation in concluding that possibility is not a mood-force in the subjunctive.

II. GENERAL GROUPS OF USES

In general, the uses of the German subjunctive may be readily divided into three groups, which will not here be defined. First, there is a large group in which the primary tenses of the subjunctive are used to express:

1) Exhortation, command, warning, direction, suggestion, and the like, called by Hale "Volitive," by others "Imperative," "Hortatory," "Deliberative." These express what I want done and can direct, command, or request.

1083 *Es preise sich wer keinem . . . pflichtig ist.*

Let him count himself fortunate who is no man's serf.

476. . . *mög' er selbst am Pfluge ziehen.*

Let him pull the plow himself.

1241 . . . *der rede*—let him speak.

2) Wish, Optative; what I want done but have no power to control.

2302 *Gott steh' ihm bei!* May God lend him aid!

3284 *Es lebe Tell!* Long live Tell!

3) Concession or logical assumption; what I am willing to grant or assume for the sake of argument, but still maintaining my point.

491 *Werde mit mir, was will*—Come of me what may—

2056 *was es auch sei*—whatever it be—

1726 *Was auch draus werde, steh zu deinem Volk*

Whatever come of it, stand by your people.

4) Purpose, after *damit*, *dasz*, or a relative, also fear, result intended, etc.; in general, where willing is implied in the main clause:

490 *Niemand ist, der ihn vor Unglimpf schütze.*

There is none to protect him from insult.

2068 *Damit ich sicher sei vor deinen Pfeilen.*

That I may be safe from your arrows.

Secondly, the Indirect Subjunctive, whether indirect discourse—statement, question, exclamation, command, relative or conditional clause—or merely an indirect expression of thought or idea of any kind in any manner. Usually there is little tense-distinction, the idea being to present a different form from that of the direct use, tho sometimes the conceptions of groups one and three may be involved.

544 *Er meint selber, es sei nicht mehr zu tragen.*

He himself thinks it is no longer endurable.

1334 *mit leerem Trost:*

Der Kaiser habe diesmal keine Zeit;

Er würde sonst einmal wohl an uns denken.

With empty consolation: (to the effect that) the Emperor had no time at present; he would consider us at some other time, perhaps.

2036 *Wusst' ich's ja,*

Du würdest deinen Knaben nicht verletzen!

Why, I knew you wouldn't hurt your boy!

The Indirect Subjunctive is now often used in comparative clauses wherever *dasz* can be substituted for *als*. Other comparative clauses belong to the third group. No examples in Tell.

Ihm war's, als habe er sie nicht gesehen.

It seemed to him as tho (i. e., that) he had not seen her.

Thirdly, the group often denominated the "Potential." Let us analyze this group into its component parts. It is found in German and in practically identical form in the other modern Teutonic languages in clauses or sentences corresponding in a certain way to various uses of the indicative, primary subjunctive, or imperative. In English the only distinctive forms corresponding are "were," "would" with the infinitive, "should," and "might;" the other subjunctives can be determined only from the fact that the tense of the verb differs from the tense which expresses the same time-relation in the indicative. In the examples given below, x indicates that the conditional "mood" or tenses may be used, d that the clause is dependent, i that it is independent. Again, in giving the paraliel construction, the use of the modal verb is sometimes necessary.

a) Commands in the imperative or primary subjunctive. x

Bring' mir ein Glas Wasser, bitte!
Du dürftest mir ein Glas Wasser bringen.
 You might bring me a glass of water.

b) Statements in the indicative. x

Du brächtest (bringst) gern andre Leute in Verdamnis.
 You like to bring about the condemnation of other people.

c) Questions in the indicative. x

1834 *Das hätt' (hat) der Tell getan?* What, Tell did that?

1673 *Ihr könntet (könnt) Euch entschlieszen?*

You really could decide?

d) Exclamations in the indicative. x

459 *Wenn man uns uberraschte (uberrascht)!* What if some one should surprise us!

e) Conditions, temporal clauses, and the like in the indicative. d (x rare)

2025 *Und stündet (steht) Ihr nicht hier in Kaiser's Namen—*
 And if you were not standing here in the name of the Emperor—

f) Concessions, etc., in the indicative or primary subjunctive. i or d

627 *Und wohnt' (wohnt) er droben auf dem Eispalast Des Schreckhorns.*

Aye, tho he lived up yonder on the ice-palace of the Schreckhorn.

g) Purpose-clauses, etc., in the indicative or primary subjunctive. d

124 *Dort liegt der Kahn, der mich hinübertrüge (tragen soll).*

Yonder lies the boat to carry me across.

The example in 490 might be similarly written *scützte*, in 2068 *wäre*, to express this relation.

h) Wishes in primary (indicative or) subjunctive. x

379 *O hätt' ich nie gelebt!* (Past rejected) Oh, that I had never lived! Compare *Möge ich nie leben!* (Present or future open; past open is of course not to be found).

i) Comparison clauses; corresponding usually to statements in the indicative in the primary form. x d

479 *also frei heinlebe, als ob er Herr wär' in dem Lande.*

. . . . live as free as if he were master in the land.

j) Clauses of quality, characteristic, etc.; corresponding to statements in the primary form. x d

2553 *Wer ist so feig, der jetzt noch könnte zagen?*

Who is so cowardly that he could now still delay?

All these secondary forms are subject to one of three connotations. With reference to the past they almost always represent the idea as "rejected," if we may use the term employed by Sweet in his "New English Grammar," as contrasted with the "open" attitude of the primary form. Others use the terms "Unreal," "Contrary to fact," "Falsity implied." With reference to the future the idea is generally open, either more or less vivid (Hale's "Anticipatory"), practically never rejected. The present admits of all three connotations. But all of these attitudes, points of view, connotations are tense-notions, not mood-notions. The great truth about the secondary uses of the subjunctive is that there is no new MOOD-FORCE present in these forms which is not present in the corresponding primary forms except that of attitude of mind. Possibility is represented by phrase- or word-forms, as we have seen. Just as the imperative implies an attitude of mind toward the idea which is quite different from that of the indicative, so the primary subjunctive represents when not replacing the imperative a third attitude, and the secondary subjunctive still a fourth attitude, the attitude which we are endeavoring to define.

III. THE SOLUTION

The actual usage in the third group of uses given above is not difficult to grasp, being correctly used by the most uneducated child or adult with perfect accuracy. In English there is of course here no difficulty for foreigners, the Teutonic races using the syntax of their native tongue, the members of the Latin races noting the difference of tense. Similarly the American student has practically no difficulties in German, his difficulties being with the primary tenses. The only difference between the educated and the uneducated use of the secondary subjunctive lies in the frequency of its use, which implies often increased suavity, dignity, reserve of manner. It is the natural result of the work of scholars and writers, endeavoring to express an ever widening and more accurate range of distinction in ideas.

If the use itself is easy enough to grasp, why the difficulty of definition? Can it be that for a whole century people—that is, grammarians who did not think accurately—have been endeavoring to force the conception into a pigeon-hole where it did not belong? Or have we not confused the signification of word, phrase, context, tense, and tried to make the poor subjunctive, which has already sins enough of its own, carry also the burden that belongs elsewhere? We have shown that in German "Unreality" is shown, sometimes at

least, by tense. In like manner possibility is shown, like propriety, likelihood, certainty under "less vivid" or "rejected" conditions, by the context of the phrase or by a modal verb. What then is the essence of the mood-conception of this group? We cannot answer this question without considering also whether the indicative has been assigned a proper mood-conception, for the indicative received the category "fact" at the same time and under the same conditions that the subjunctive became the slave of "possibility." Professor Curme has shown in "*Modern Language Notes*," May, 1908, p. 134, that the subjunctive often occurs in clauses expressing fact; it has been shown above that the indicative occurs in possibility-clauses; We may therefore be certain that we must seek the solution elsewhere.

In order to orient ourselves, let us look among the grammars. Most of them hold of course to possibility, either undefined, or subjective possibility. Sweet's *New English Grammar* calls the indicative the fact-mood, the subjunctive the thought-mood. Heyse-Lyon in the twenty-sixth edition gives two conceptions for the mood in general, possibility and subjectivity. We have rejected possibility, however, just as we have rejected fact for the indicative; if then we can retain the attitude of subjectivity as the essential conception of the subjunctive, we must have a corresponding term for the indicative. Evidently it must be objectivity, for it is precisely the objective point of view which the indicative always expresses. Subjectivity presents itself in all three groups of subjunctive uses;—in the first group of uses the subjective force is will, wish, expectation, command, concession; in the indirect use, indirectness is the subjective force—the further removed the idea to be expressed is from the speaker's present point of view, the greater the likelihood that the subjunctive will be used; finally, in the third group, the subjunctive acts subjectively on the primary conceptions from a "less vivid" or rejected point of view. It is quite possible to compare with the relation of the two moods the relation of the brain-subjects and the bread-and-butter-subjects of our curriculums, for example manual training and the old-fashioned mental philosophy. The one puts us in direct touch with things, the objects of everyday life, the other deals with thought working of itself and sometimes on itself. Yet the world has urgent need of both points of view, both in the same individual and in different individuals.

The question now amounts to this;—if the relation between the indicative and the subjunctive in general is that of objectivity to subjectivity, what is the relation between the secondary subjunctive uses and the corresponding primary forms? It must be a relation

which changes the open point of view to the rejected or less vivid. Possibly we might venture the term remoteness. For just as the secondary tenses of the indicative indicate a remoteness of time from the time expressed by the primary tenses, so the secondary tenses of the subjunctive, time not being a factor, represent a remoteness in point of view. Some such relation it is necessary to assume, unless we go back to the days of slavery to grammatical categories. Above all things, we must not confuse context-notions, phrase-notions, tense-notions, word-notions with the notion of mood-force. Let us hope, too, that the committees on grammatical nomenclature, in their work which includes many languages and many nationalities, will give us clear and definite terms, which will represent accurately the various forces present in the languages studied.

USES OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE

A. Primary.

1. Volitive; expressing exhortation, command, warning, direction, etc., also logical assumption (mathematics, etc.)
2. Optative; expressing a wish.
3. Concessive.
4. Anticipatory; purpose, result, qualifying, fear clauses and the like.

B. Indirect; found in statements, questions, exclamations, commands, relative, comparative, or conditional clauses. Primary tenses may be used only if the subjunctive form differs from the indicative form; otherwise use the corresponding secondary tense.

C. Secondary; expressing remoter conception, either less vivid or unreal; corresponding to—

1. Commands in the imperative or subjunctive.
2. Statements in the indicative.
3. Questions in the indicative.
4. Exclamations in the indicative.
5. Conditions, temporal clauses, and the like, in the indicative.
6. Concessive clauses in indicative or primary subjunctive.
7. Purpose, result, and fear clauses in indicative or primary subjunctive.
8. Wishes in primary subjunctive (or indicative).
9. Comparison clauses, corresponding to statements in indicative.
10. Clauses of quality, characteristic, etc., corresponding to statements in the indicative.

AFTERMATH

If out of these lapsed days I could recall
Experienced beauty, and so make them be
Flasked essences to pour out fragrantly,
Or healing herbs for wounds that may befall,
Surely it were remiss not to let all
Else pass, lest, recordless, their virtue flee:
Who knows but in them may be potency
Like David's harp to lowering mood of Saul!

So letting a sweet pageantry of sights
And scenes come back in quietude of dream,
I sit here of an evening. Like a stream
Known to the far beholder on the heights
By aureole of mist, whereon the lights,
Moonglade and starglade, intermelting gleam,
So aureoled in memory doth seem
A season's flow afar of days and nights.

And what if not that one was at my side,
Gentle co-sharer and co-worshiper,
Makes rich in retrospect the hours that were!
Whether a mountain goal with strenuous stride
We sought, or stood before entranced tide,
Receiving sunset benison, for her
How the loveliness I felt grew lovelier!
How sure in dew-like influence to abide!

Oh, what tow-path were the universe
For haling the brute bulk of things, unless
Betimes there came surcease of strain and stress,
And living by bread only! We might curse
Job-like our birth-hour, knowing ourselves worse
Than ruminating beast, if Quietness
Us pastured never,—the sweet shepherdess,
Tenderer than our tenderest dreams rehearse!

'Tis out of the self dofft with doubt and cares
That spring the very joys for which we pine:
O idle bookless hours wherein no sign
Of gain,—what rich ingathering was theirs!
Then sowing not nor reaping we were heirs
To kingdoms, all the affluence divine
Poured spendthrift with the morning's rain or shine,
Where toiling might have netted us but tares.

Strange law of spirit husbandry! attested
By days whereto I backward yearn this hour:
Their largess—came it not as to a flower
Perfume and color, not desired or quested,
Or from begrudging hand of giver wrested,
But lavished freely like the April shower,
Or like the little bird's melodious dower,
That singing soars aloft from where it nested?

In glad release where sea and mountain wrought
Sorceries on a prairie-sated mind,
I lingered, fain of clime where Nature kind
Doth make of summer the perpetual lot
Of dwellers there, her hand withholding naught.
What tenderness I had not dreamed to find
Alike in morning sun and sun declined!
Smiles as for child in mother-arms upcaught.

Goaded by sting and frenzy of the frore
Blasts out of northern sky, I oft have said:
"What matter, so to Beauty I be wed
Inwardly!"—and sought shelter within door.
And yet doth it not matter if before
The outward eye no loveliness be shed
Abroad? Where finds the spirit daily bread,
If not out of the sense-world's yielded store?

Forgive, great Prairies, the so puling strain!
 Not niggard is the bounty that your hands
 Dispense unto the heart that understands.
 For thirst there hath been beaker here to drain;
 For hunger, meat. Then wherefore Song's disdain?
 Because, forsooth, I walked on alien strands,
 Or climbed unnative hills?—Forgive, great Lands!
 Forgive my "Colin Clout's come home again!"—

Our country, teeming with the wine and corn
 Of beauty,—where its milk and honey flow,
 Hath nowhere peer, much wandering, I know.
 Who sees Yosemite invading morn
 With Samson trees whose locks were never shorn,
 Or Shasta with its hieroglyphs of snow,
 Grieves not that for the singer and his glow
 America, wealth-gluttled, hath but scorn?

Yet why should forests wrestle with the gales,
 Or why the wonder of a prairie's lone
 Communion with the sunset, and the blown
 Rose of the morning o'er expectant vales;
 Why else our seas' white foliage of sails,
 Niagara and twice-plunging Yellowstone,
 Unless that Song should come into her own,
 Failing of which, of Destiny she fails?

What though the Mississippi Gulfward speed,
 Creating sea-usurping deltas, whence
 New empire states will rise in ages hence?
 Forgot will be our every thought and deed
 Not Song-rehearsed. Thus is it fate-decreed:
 In Song alone a land hath permanence.
 Abiding Hellas draws its glory thence,
 But where to-day Phoenicia's wealth and greed!

The cloud of hand-like breadth before great rain,
Who gazing forth from Carmel now espies!
Lo, spirit tropics 'neath exhausted skies,
Where only the spiked cactuses remain,
And heart hath gone to seed in cunning brain!
O for an Age less knowing and more wise!
O for a Seer as of old to rise,
And shepherd us with Vision once again!

Man's body soars to-day like nimble swallow,—
Curbed are the mettled air-foals; land and sea
Are rutted by his thunderous chariotry:
His Spirit, shall it, too, soar—or only wallow?
It cannot be: Spirit must lead, not follow,
Else queenless swarm our triumphs! else are we
Mazeppas of our own speed-enginery,—
Ay, of the planet plunging through heaven's hollow!—

So questioned we perplexed of time and fate,
Betimes in summer days, where bush or tree
Shredded the noonday sunlight; yet the glee
And zest of things more oft postponed their weight
And mystery to other place and date.
Waves capped themselves with merriment of the sea:
Admitted to their jocund company,
How could our hearts be other than elate!

Be still elate, the wintry months ahead,
And glad with the same gladness, heart, continue!
Albeit unknown, the web of fate they spin you,
Yourself may weave the Ariadne-thread
Whereby your groping lightward will be led
Through labyrinth that baffleth wit and sinew.
Be still elate: heaven's kingdom is within you,
Whatever darkling maze the feet may tread!

If stream-begotten canyons have been sawed
Out of the basic adamant of things,
Where water toiling in the depth yet sings,
Why should not we whose souls have been abroad
Mid scenes where beauty charmed and wonder awed,
Ply whatsoever task the morrow brings
With singing? Earth is fair, the sun upsprings
As yesterday,—the same heavens! the same God!

Ay, singing, though with transitory breath,
A transitory season! 'Twixt the child,
And Age, the child again, not many-miled
The stream of human life meandereth.
Thus serious mid-manhood vision saith.
Yet, flowing, if betimes it shall have smiled
Green meads among, nor wound its course unisled,
Sweetly repose admonishing comes Death.

A little sheaf of Ruth-gleaned hours may sow
What tracts of Time for harvest! Camelot
Itself upbuilt out of the forgot.
Our yesterdays become the Long-Ago
By passing of the years, and then bestow
Their precious balm on memory, being not,—
As grasses by the subtle sickle cut
Become all after-odorous for the throe.

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GOTTFRIED HULT

Book Reviews¹

INTRODUCTION

THE selection of a suitable text-book for use in school work is a matter of great importance and of no little difficulty. This is especially true of the text for high school use since the high school student is no longer a mere child nor yet a mature adult. There are at least two fundamental requisites of a good text-book. And the two are closely interdependent. In the first place, the text must be correct in its use of subject matter and satisfactory in its general method of presentation. Secondly, it must be adapted, both in manner and method, to the stage of development reached by the ones for whom it is planned.

The difficulty is not so great, perhaps, when dealing with the traditional secondary school subjects, as the languages and mathematics, since both the subject matter to be used and the method of presentation have at last come to be practically fixt. Perhaps this has come about thru the application of the principle of the "survival of the fittest." But with the changing subjects, as the sciences, and the newer subjects, as government, economics, sociology, manual training, domestic science, psychology, pedagogy, school management, and the like, the difficulty is a very real one.

Of the two requisites named above, the one most commonly found wanting in so called high school texts is that of adaptation. Very few texts put out by reputable houses are faulty in their subject matter—the writers *know* enough. But very many that are offered for high school use are faulty in the matter of adaptation. The fault, however, is not usually with the writers; they are simply not writing for high school students. Sociology, economics, education, psychology, and the like, have so recently been added to the high

1. Prefatory Note. When the state educational number, that which appeared in July, 1912, was first planned, it was thought that the department of book reviews could be made to serve a good purpose in the same general connection, since requests for "the best text-book" on this and that subject are all the time coming in from the high schools. Accordingly, a letter was sent to all the leading publishers of school texts calling attention to the character of the issue, and saying that a plan was on foot to make a comparative study of all the leading texts dealing with certain high school subjects, especially the newer ones. The publishers were invited to send in copies of such texts as they were willing to submit for such study. The subjects that were selected for such handling were Sociology, Political Economy, Elementary Psychology, Pedagogy, Civil Government and First Year Latin. The response on the part of the publishers was very courteous and generous. Some of the books did not arrive in time for adequate treatment, however, and it was decided to postpone the issue of the reviews and make them the book review feature of the present number.

school curriculum that in but few cases have separate texts been prepared. And when publishers are asked for texts they do the best they can—send what they have even tho they were written for college students. That is well illustrated in the case now at hand. The request for a high school text in sociology brought but a single response, and that, a regular college text, a book now being used in several colleges and universities including the University of North Dakota. For texts in economics the request brought three, one of which the reviewer refuses to consider for high school use; and in reviewing the others he says, "What we need is a new type of text-book which, for high school purposes, will break away entirely from the regular method of handling economic concepts and devote itself exclusively to descriptive material illustrative of our economic institutions." That is but saying in other words what I have already said, that these books are not adapted to high school students. Again, of thirteen books submitted on psychology and education, only four or five are really suitable for high school use. The most of them are college texts, and some of them are worthy of the efforts of advanced students. And essentially the same criticism is made by the reviewer of the texts on civil government.

The writers of many of the texts suggested for high school use make one or the other of two mistakes: they are either writing without sufficient understanding of the workings of the adolescent mind, or they are trying to ride two horses at once. A book may be very satisfactory as a college text and wholly unfitted for high school use—sure to be so in nine cases out of ten.

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CIVIL GOVERNMENT

GOVERNMENT: ITS ORIGIN, GROWTH AND FORM IN THE UNITED STATES: ROBERT LANSING, Attorney at Law, and GARY M. JONES, Principal of the Watertown, New York, High School. Silver, Burdett and Company, New York, Boston and Chicago. 1902. VIII + 251 pp.

GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES: JAMES W. GARNER, Professor of Political Science, University of Illinois. The American Book Company, New York and Chicago. 1911. 416 pp. Price, \$1.

THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC: S. E. FORMAN. The Century Company, New York, 1911. XVIII + 359 pp.

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT: ROSCOE LEWIS ASHLEY. The Macmillan Company, New York. 1911. LX + 356 pp.

GOVERNMENT OF NORTH DAKOTA: JAMES ERNEST BOYLE, Professor of Economics and Political Science, University of North Dakota. The American Book Company, New York and Chicago. 1910. 320 + XCV pp. Price, \$1.²

The brief manual by Lansing and Jones is decidedly useful to a teacher but is quite beyond the grasp of an average student. Part third, alone, seems to have been designed for the student of secondary schools, and the treatment of the general subject in this part of the work is clear and brief. Parts one and four are admirably adapted for the use of a student after leaving school, when in business or professional life he needs a compendium of municipal, national or international law. Part two, as an historical summary, is poorly constructed and lacks the later point of view. The list of dates at the end of the first three chapters is especially open to criticism both from the important omissions and the repetitions occurring there.

The first eight chapters of Garner's text are devoted to state and local government, subjects for which there does not seem to be much place in our curriculum on account of the brief time we devote to civics. The discussion of the problems of our Federal Government in the remaining chapters is excellent. But the teacher in this state at least would find it difficult to adapt this text with its condensed mass of detail and suggestions for research to the needs of the pupils pursuing the subject. Especially is this true for those who are not graduates of some college or university.

In the three hundred pages of closely packed material on our local and national government by Forman, the teacher can find something on practically every phase of the question. As a text, it is, of course, entirely too long for most of our schools without much abridgement. An enthusiastic teacher can, however, by skillful adaptation and by omitting such chapters as deal with state and local matters as well as those discussing the purely theoretical phases of government, reduce the number of pages by half and make it possible to use the remainder as a text for an average high school

2. Since Dr. Boyle's book was reviewed in an earlier number of THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL, October, 1910, pp. 86-87, it is not necessary to treat it in this place.

class. The publishers could assist in this adaptation by the use of smaller type for such part of the material as has a secondary importance.

To those who have used Ashley's *American History*, it is a matter of congratulation that the author of this most admirable text for secondary schools should also have attempted one in the field of government. If there is any one conspicuous fault in the preparation of a text for the use of our pupils in high school civics, it is a lack, on the part of the author, of a knowledge of history. The average pupil, even more than the average teacher, has little time for specialization and each is prone to link on new subjects to those already mastered or attempted. Civics, therefore, is related unconsciously to the subject matter of such history as has been studied. If this organic connection is made easy and natural by the usual teaching devices and by a thoro knowledge of elementary history on the part of the author, this vital subject of government is safely launched in the active consciousness of the child never to be lost sight of in later life. In his *American Government*, Ashley has produced a very adaptable text, clear, concise and organic. The various kinds of information are assorted and classified in an orderly manner and it is easy to lengthen or shorten the discussions in any chapter or section by teaching or omitting material which is designated as of secondary rank. This text represents in a very perfect manner the modern trend of thought in all the newer fields of political and civic activity.

As a suggestion to the compilers and publishers of future texts on this important subject, it may not be out of place to point out that the endless reprinting of the same documents of our early constitutional period might profitably be omitted. Surely the Articles of Confederation and the Declaration of Independence might be left to a documentary source book while some of the more uncommon documents referred to in the text might be used with profit if it were deemed necessary to fill up the usual number of pages with material of this class. The original purpose of the publication of these time-honored documents was to put the reader in possession of what might otherwise be out of reach. With the multiplication of excellent source books of considerable range and scholarly composition, this need no longer exists, tho the habit thereby engendered bids fair to run on for a generation or more.

READINGS IN CIVIL GOVERNMENT: PERCY LEWIS KAYE, Head of the Department of History, Baltimore City College. The Century Company, New York. 1910. XVI + 535 pp.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN THE UNITED STATES: WILLIAM BACKUS GUITTEAU, Superintendent of Schools, Toledo, Ohio. Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston. 1911. IV + 473 pp. Price, \$1.

READINGS IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS: CHARLES A. BEARD, Adjunct Professor of Politics, Columbia University. The Macmillan Company, New York. 1909. XXIII + 624 pp.

CIVICS AND HEALTH: WILLIAM H. ALLEN, Secretary Bureau of Municipal Research, New York. Ginn and Company, Boston, New York and Chicago. 1909. XI + 411 pp. Price, \$1.20.

THE COMMUNITY AND THE CITIZENS: ARTHUR WILLIAM DUNN, Head of the Department of History and Civics, Shortridge High School, Indianapolis, Indiana. D. C. Heath and Company, Boston. 1907. X + 266 pp.

Supplementary reading in the field of government is especially important in order that the somewhat abstract propositions discusst in class may come to have living meaning and actually enter into the every day routine of existence. For this purpose, Guitteau's Government and Politics, Dunn's Community and Citizen and Allen's Civics and Health are admirably adapted both in subject matter and in treatment. Especially is Allen's little manual to be commended for its plain speaking and forceful statement of home truths. Such chapters as Health, a Civic Obligation, and Hygiene, Patriotism and Religion, and Heredity, Bugaboos and Truth have a genuine ring in their very titles.

For the teacher and the more advanced pupils, Beard and Kaye are admirable manuals, full of suggestion and containing documents and quotations from the sources not available in most small libraries.

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POLITICAL SCIENCE

ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMICS: RICHARD T. ELY, Professor of Political Economy, University of Wisconsin, and George Ray Wicker, Assistant Professor of Economics, Dartmouth College. The Macmillan Company, New York and Chicago, 1907. XI + 388 pp.

THE ELEMENTS OF ECONOMICS: CHARLES JESSE BULLOCK, Professor of Political Economy, Harvard University. Silver, Burdett and Company, New York, Boston and Chicago, 1905. VII + 378 pp. Price, \$1.

INTRODUCTION TO POPULAR SCIENCE: JAMES WILFORD GARNER, Professor of Political Science, University of Illinois. American Book Company, New York and Chicago, 1910. 616 pp. Price, \$2.50.³

The Elementary Principles of Economics is especially designed for beginners and is well adapted to high school purposes. The authors have wisely chosen to present only such principles and theories as have been generally accepted by economists. Controversial matter has been purposely omitted. The text presents clearly and convincingly the factors involved in consumption, production and distribution of wealth. Abstract concepts are elucidated in simple language and amply illustrated by specific and concrete data. In addition to the discussion of general principles, the book contains a brief sketch of the economic history of England and the United States. As regards the subject matter, therefore, the text is purely orthodox and conservative.

The special merit of the volume, however, as a text-book, is its pedagogical quality. Its style is simple and altogether within the grasp of the average high school pupil. Passages that are difficult to understand or which are relatively unimportant are printed "solid" (without the interlinear spaces regularly used). It is an easy matter, therefore, for the teacher to omit these parts. The beginner always experiences difficulty in not being able to pick out the salient passages. The authors of this book have made liberal use of italics to call attention to the important passages. Definitions are frequently italicized.

Another helpful device is the "summary" at the close of each chapter. A logical enumeration of points is made covering the development of the topic or topics in each chapter. These summaries are concise and not overloaded with details.

The "questions" at the close of each chapter and based on or suggested by the topics presented are also useful. They are often more helpful to the teacher than to the pupil.

For the more ambitious teacher who has leisure and does not wish to confine himself to the text, the book contains references cov-

3. Reviewed in THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL for October, 1910, pp. 87-89.

ering the subject matter of each chapter. There is also a specialized bibliography arranged topically, in the appendix.

The teacher who desires to stimulate further interest in economic problems will appreciate appendix I, which gives a list of subjects for essays, discussions and debates. The writer has used this book and can conscientiously say that it is a teachable text-book.

The Elements of Economics, like the book just reviewed is a clear statement of economic laws found in conventional college text-books, but stated in such a manner as to be understood by the average high school pupil. Tho the style and the method are not quite so clear and simple as in Ely and Wicker, the book is not altogether above the heads of the high school pupils for whom it is adapted. Abstract theory has been subordinated and descriptive and illustrative material amplified.

This text does not contain the numerous pedagogic devices discussed in connection with the foregoing review. On the other hand it has the advantage of containing more thorough discussions. For this reason the book is one that is especially serviceable to the teacher who has no time to do collateral reading.

The reviewer's objection to this text is that, like so many others, it reads like a condensed edition of a college text rather than a brand new book designed solely for high schools. The reviewer is also of the opinion that economic theory and abstract principles do not properly belong in high school texts. In this respect tho, Professor Bullock's text does not offend seriously, perhaps even less so than the Ely and Wicker book. What we need is a new type of text-book which, for high school purposes, will break away entirely from the regular method of handling economic concepts and devote itself exclusively to descriptive material illustrative of our economic institutions.

Teachers who have used this book in North Dakota have informed the writer that it works well.

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SOCIOLOGY

SOCIOLOGY AND MODERN SOCIAL PROBLEMS: CHARLES A. ELLWOOD, Professor of Sociology, University of Missouri. American Book Company, New York and Chicago. 1910. Pp. 331. Price, \$1.

Dr. Elwood's work is the only one suggested as a high school text in sociology. It is clearly a college text, but in the absence of one written specifically for high school use can, with proper adaptation and interpretation on part of the teacher, be used with considerable success. Since it was reviewed in a recent number of *THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL*, April, 1912, pp. 278-279, it is not more fully treated in this place.

FIRST YEAR LATIN

FIRST STEPS IN LATIN AND SECOND STEPS IN LATIN: FREDERICK C. STAPLES, Instructor in Latin, the Fay School, Southborough, Mass. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1911. VIII + 164 pp.

ESSENTIALS OF LATIN FOR BEGINNERS: HENRY CARR PEARSON, Horace Mann School, Teachers College, New York. The American Book Company, New York and Chicago, 1905. 320 pp. Price, 90c.

INTRODUCTORY LATIN: FRANK PRESCOTT MOULTON. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, 1907. X + 268 pp.

FIRST YEAR LATIN: GEORGE STUART, Professor of the Latin Language, Central High School, Philadelphia. Hinds, Noble and Eldridge, New York and Philadelphia, 1887. 272 pp.

ELEMENTS OF LATIN: BENJAMIN W. MITCHELL, Professor of Latin, Central High School, Philadelphia. Hinds, Noble and Eldridge, New York and Philadelphia, 1912. VII + 303 pp.

FIRST BOOK IN LATIN: ALEXANDER JAMES INGLIS, Instructor in Latin, Horace Mann School, and VERGIL PRETTYMAN, Principal Horace Mann School, Teachers College, New York. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1910. 301 pp.

A LATIN PRIMER: H. C. NUTTING, Assistant Professor of Latin, University of California. The American Book Company, New York and Chicago, 1911. 240 pp. Price, 50c.

LATIN FOR BEGINNERS: BENJAMIN L. D'OOGHE, Professor in the Michigan State Normal College. Ginn & Company, Boston, New York and Chicago. 1911. XII + 348 pp. Maps, Cuts and Four colored Plates.

LATIN SYNTAX BY DIAGRAMS with FIRST YEAR LATIN: GEORGE W. LEWIS, Superintendent of Schools, Lakota, North Dakota. Privately printed, 1911. 496 pp.

First Year Latin Books have been multiplying so fast of late years, and we have so many excellent books from which to choose, that it is a very difficult, and somewhat invidious, task to pick out any one as being the very best. Did we not realize that almost every teacher to-day feels it his bounden duty sooner or later to rush into print, we might wonder why many of these First Year Latin Books should ever have been written, since the points of difference between them and their rivals would seem to be exceedingly microscopic.

However that may be, the present scribe is of the opinion that, granted a well-equipped and enthusiastic teacher, the choice between any of the beginning books in use in our state at present is a matter of very secondary consideration.

We all agree that first-year work should aim at mastery of forms, ability to use the simplest principles of Latin syntax, and the acquisition of a vocabulary which will be a fair preparation for Caesar. The text-book of to-day must be attractive, it must possess every typographical excellence, it must contain taking illustrations, it must, in fact, do everything possible to create interest in a confessedly hard subject. These desiderata, together with real scholarly and judicious presentation of the subject, can surely be found in many of the First Year Latin Books at present at our command. Latin can never be made easy, and most of our trouble lies in a lack of live and enthusiastic teaching.

If special mention of Beginners' Books must be made, it seems that D'Ooge's "Latin for Beginners," and Moulton's "Introductory Latin" leave little to be desired. Both books are systematic, thoro, and interesting.

There is another first year book, recently published, which is worthy of mention, and has the distinction of being the first Beginner's Latin Book to hail from our own state. This is entitled "Latin Syntax by Diagrams with First Year Latin," and is written and published by G. W. Lewis, City Superintendent of Schools, Lakota, North Dakota. The book has distinctly good points, and is obviously the result of a vast amount of careful work, tho the advisability of affording space in the volume for diagramming the whole of the Helvetian War is, perhaps, open to criticism. In a second edition, the author would surely be wise to change the reproduced type-writing style of printing, which is so unattractive and trying to the eye.

To sum up:—in the teaching of first-year Latin a really good teacher is the thing to be desired; which one of a dozen good *Beginners' Books* is used matters very little.

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EDUCATION

Why are we discussing, among text-books for high school use, works on professional education—psychology, pedagogy, school management, and the like? High schools are not normal schools, no, but, in a limited way, they are being prest into service in the preparation of teachers for the rural schools. This fact can be explained in two ways. In the first place, the normal schools have thoroly justified their existence, the teachers prepared within their walls being univerally recognized as superior to those without the professional preparation. The significance of this fact has at last come to the attention of those interested in improving the conditions of our rural communities. The only permanent improvement in rural conditions must have its roots in the school. Better schools must be provided before economic, social, or moral conditions will be greatly improved. And better schools can be provided only thru better teachers, and the first step toward improving the general character of the teaching force is to provide for appropriate professional preparation. But the normal schools have their hands more than full in their legitimate work of preparing teachers for the grades. Our State has not yet established the county normal school for equipping the rural teachers, so the high school is looked to for assistance. It was said above that there are two explanations of the fact that high schools are asked to equip rural school teachers. The second touches more closely the high school itself. The high schools have long been criticized for not being practical—for doing nothing to equip their young people for the actual duties of life, for making a living, if you please. Here was an opportunity offered for doing just that. It is one kind of vocational training that it was thought the high schools could give. The high schools accepted the suggestion, and are now ready to give the work.

But what kind of equipment should the high school be expected to give? To answer that question we must take into careful consideration two facts, namely: the high school student and the rural school situation. The high school student, upon graduation, is about

eighteen years of age. So, supposing this professional work be given during the senior year, it is a seventeen year old boy and girl that we must consider when discussing the subjects of instruction or the text-books. Clearly, the work must be elementary; it can not delve deeply into psychological principles; it can not discuss philosophical bases; nor can it do very much in tracing the historical development of education or in forming a historical background for the school. The work must be very practical, rather objective, and simple. It must present actual conditions, not abstract theories. And it must fit these seventeen year old boys and girls for work in the rural school, not the high school, nor the city grades. For the most part these high school graduates are town-bred. They know relatively little of the rural community where social conditions, forms of toil, manner of dress, etc. are so different from those to which they are accustomed. It is a very easy matter to place this work, I will not say upon too high a plane but, upon a wrong plane. Among other things these prospective teachers should study rural sociology, as necessary as pedagogy itself, if indeed not more so.

PSYCHOLOGY

PSYCHOLOGY AND PSYCHIC CULTURE: REUBEN POST HALLECK, Principal Louisville Mail High School. The American Book Company, New York and Chicago. 368 pp. Price, \$1.25.

NEW PSYCHOLOGY: J. P. GORDY, formerly Head of the Pedagogical Department of the Ohio State University. Hinds, Noble and Eldridge, New York, Boston and Philadelphia. V + 402 pp.

Why does a high school student, planning to teach in the rural school, study psychology? Not primarily to get a knowledge of the science, that is, merely a knowledge of the science. What he wants is such a knowledge of the science as he can apply in his work in the school room. It must be applied psychology. To be sure, a science can not well be applied until it is understood. But this high school student has not time now to master his science and then work out the applications. He must take a short cut. And there is a way to present the principles of psychology that will give the learner a sympathetic appreciation of the developing mind of the child and materially aid him in guiding that development. But there are very few books handling the matter in a satisfactory manner for this grade of students. The two best that have come to my attention are the two noticed above. They are both planned for the teacher,

and for the elementary teacher at that. Of his, Mr. Gordy says in the preface:

"This book has been written principally for the special benefit of that large number of progressive young teachers who have not enjoyed the benefits of a college education, but who nevertheless are striving without the aid of an instructor to make their work rational and therefore more efficient by basing it on a knowledge of the Mind. . . . The object of the author throughout has been to call the attention of his readers to important mental facts in such a way as to set them to observing their own minds and the minds of their pupils, in order to see for themselves the usefulness of the facts and the experience so gained, their application to the daily work of teaching, and their inestimable value as an added factor toward success."

And he has done it pretty well, in the main. The name of the book, however, "New Psychology," is a little misleading. It is not a new work, but one that has been on the market for several years.

Mr. Halleck is much more pleasing in his presentation than Mr. Gordy. He knows the high school student more intimately, more sympathetically, than any other writer on psychology that I know of. And he talks with him in such a simple and direct manner, as to win him to his theme. With Mr. Halleck psychology is not a bundle of abstractions but a vital, an interesting, even a stimulating subject.

PEDAGOGY

A NEW SCHOOL MANAGEMENT: LEVY SEELEY, Professor of the Science and Art of Education, New Jersey State Normal School. Hinds, Noble and Eldridge, New York and Philadelphia. 1903. X + 329 pp. Price, \$1.

TEACHING A DISTRICT SCHOOL: JOHN WIRT DINSMORE, Professor of Pedagogy and Dean of the Normal Department, Berea College. The American Book Company, New York and Chicago. 1908. 284 pp. Price, \$1.

ELEMENTARY PEDAGOGY: LEVY SEELEY, Professor of the Science and Art of Education, New Jersey State Normal School. Hinds, Noble and Eldridge, New York and Philadelphia. 1906. X + 337 pp. Price, \$1.

The phase of the teacher's work upon which the new recruit is most likely to look with fear and trembling is not usually that of instruction, nor yet of discipline but that which, tho very different

from either, has much to do with the success of both—the matter of *management*. Especially is this true when one who has passed thru the city grades and the high school is to begin teaching experience in the rural district. The environment, the equipment, even the children themselves, are seemingly so different in the two that no amount of observation in the one will give a prospective teacher in the other the right point of view or a satisfactory method of approach.

All of this Professor Seeley had clearly in mind when he wrote his *New School Management*, and Professor Dinsmore when he wrote *Teaching a District School*. In their early days as country school teachers they must have passed thru experiences common to most of us older teachers in having to blaze their own trails. In no other way, I think, could they have known so well just the topics upon which a young teacher needs information, nor just how to give that information. In these little books the writers have dared to be simple. They have discuss the little matters of every day school life in simple, every day language, sympathetically and helpfully. In their choice of words, in the forms of expression and in the ideals set up, while clear, convincing and high-minded, they are never so far in advance of the high school student as to fail of being helpful, inspiring leaders. I know of no other books in which this work is so well done. No earnest young person can read either of them without great benefit both to himself and to his future pupils, and no young person should enter upon the great work of teaching without a careful consideration of the topics here treated. To be sure, the two books differ in several ways. Professor Seeley's contains more matter—has forty-five more pages, and a little more matter to the page. He goes much more into detail especially in matters of school government, school incentives, school morals &c, while Professor Dinsmore discusses some matters not touched upon at all in the other work. He passes in brief review, for example, nearly all the subjects of instruction found in the curriculum, explaining their purpose and touching upon methods of presentation. But both are very helpful books and in many ways I should find it difficult to choose between them.

But it is not enough to know how to *manage* a school, how to keep things running smoothly and all that. That in itself is for a *purpose* outside of itself. It is done in order that something *else* may be done. True, there is a real educational value to be derived from successful management, but yet, on the whole, it is preparatory, subsidiary to something greater.

That "something greater" Professor Seeley had in mind when

he wrote his *Elementary Pedagogy*. Here he takes the prospective teacher into his confidence and talks with him about education. He discusses its aim, the purpose and means of gaining knowledge, what the real process of education is and what it means *to be education*. He touches upon play as an educational factor, tells what habits are and how they are formed, makes clear what intellectual development is and what the act of learning involves. These and many other lines of thought that have never before come to the mind of the young teacher but which from now must be, if he be a real teacher, the main thoughts that engage his attention, are discust with clearness and relative simplicity. Much of what has been said above of his *New School Management* might be repeated in discussing his *Elementary Pedagogy*. The first book leads to the second, the second completes the first.

STANDARDS IN EDUCATION: ARTHUR HENRY CHAMBERLAIN, Dean and Professor of Education, Throop Polytechnic Institute. The American Book Company, New York and Chicago. 1908. 265 pp. Price, \$1.

CLASS TEACHING AND MANAGEMENT: WILLIAM ESTERBROOK CHANCELLOR, Superintendent of Schools, Norwalk, Conn. Harper & Brothers, New York and London. 1910. XII + 343 pp.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION: JOHN MORRIS GILLETTE, Professor of Sociology, University of North Dakota. The American Book Company, New York and Chicago. 1910. VIII + 303 pp. Price, \$1.⁴

THE BASIS OF PRACTICAL TEACHING: ELMER BURRITT BRYAN, President of Franklin College. Silver, Burdett & Company, New York, Boston and Chicago. 1905. 190 pp.

SYSTEMATIC METHODOLOGY: ANDREW THOMAS SMITH, Principal State Normal School, Mansfield, Penn. Silver, Burdett & Company, New York, Boston and Chicago. 1900. 366 pp.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF MODERN EDUCATION: CHARLES OLIVER HOYT, Professor of the History of Education, State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich. Silver, Burdett & Company, New York, Boston and Chicago. 1908. 223 pp.

⁴. Reviewed in THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL for October, 1910, pp. 83-85.

PSYCHOLOGY IN THE SCHOOL ROOM: T. F. G. DEXTER, Head Master, Pinsbury Pupil Teachers' School, and A. H. GARLICK, Head Master, Woolwich Pupil Teachers' School, England, Longmans, Green & Co., New York and London. 1898. VIII + 413 pp.

THE ESSENTIALS OF PSYCHOLOGY: W. B. PILLSBURY, Professor of Psychology, University of Michigan. The Macmillan Company, New York and Chicago. 1911. XI + 362 pp.

These eight books listed above are all good books. There is not a commonplace book in the lot. But they are not suited to high school students, nor are they adapted to rural school conditions. Again, the student who can study these books with profit is not going to teach in the rural school. Not being suited to high school use, they are not here passed in detailed review. They are listed for two reasons: in the first place, to call attention to the kind of books that are suggested for high school use, even by people who are supposed to have wide-open eyes, and secondly, because they are a fine lot of books to bring thus before high school teachers for their own use. Any one of them is worthy of a place on the study table of a high school teacher, and every progressive high school teacher to-day will soon, if he has not already, have more than one of such books at easy command.

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HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE TEXT BOOKS

Under the above caption the American Book Company has recently put out a 548 page descriptive catalog of their text-books for high school and college use. There are found, in the beginning of the book, a convenient table of contents, arranged alphabetically as to subjects treated, and an index of all the separate books mentioned similarly arranged under the names of the authors. Of nearly every book listed there are given its size, price, the name and location of the writer, a brief description, and a few testimonials from prominent educators. In the publishers' "Note to Teachers," is the following:

"This catalogue we have tried to make a reliable guide for teachers when selecting the best books for their classes. Each book has been characterized as faithfully and as fully as the limited space

permits. In describing each, we have endeavored to set forth as briefly and as clearly as possible its general purpose, plan, and scope, but, at the same time, to dwell at greatest length on those particular features which constitute its peculiar individuality and strength, and distinguish it from other works on the same subject.

"The testimonials have been selected on a broad and comprehensive basis and represent the opinions of well known teachers in various parts of the country. While some record the results of actual use of the books in representative institutions, others have been chosen quite as much for their descriptive qualities as for their value as commendations."

University Notes

Summer Session The third Summer Session of the University of North Dakota was closed the last of July. It was a decided success from every point of view, again demonstrating the wisdom of its establishment. It satisfies a real need and furnishes a real opportunity. The attendance was nearly twenty per cent larger than that of last year, and the student body an earnest, hard working lot of young people. The weather was delightfully cool; the campus was at its best; the many distractions of the regular university year were conspicuously absent, all tending to create almost ideal conditions for earnest work. And these conditions were well used resulting in a very profitable session.

Dean Brannon's Return After a year's leave of absence spent in research work at the University of Chicago, Professor Melvin A. Brannon returns to take up his new duties as Dean of the College of Liberal Arts. The year of study has brought to Professor Brannon, in addition to new stores of knowledge and a larger point of view, honors of a very substantial character in the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, granted *summa cum laude*. Dr. Brannon is one of the very few men whom Chicago has ever thus honored, the second in his own field of work, Botany. However, it should be made clear that in thus bestowing this high rank, the honor is as much to the institution as to the man since the degree, also the "*summa cum laude*," is in no sense *honorary*. It has been immediately earned. It stands as one of the products of a year of strenuous and brilliant work. Dr. Brannon's return to the University of North Dakota will be most heartily welcomed, as will also his entrance upon his new duties as Dean of the College of Liberal Arts. This is felt by all, since it is known that the same loyalty and efficiency that have characterized his former service of eighteen years will be continued.

Dean Kennedy's Leave of Absence Professor Joseph Kennedy has been connected with the University of North Dakota for twenty years, coming to the institution in the fall of 1892 as Assistant Professor of Education and Principal of the Normal and Preparatory Departments. In 1893 he was promoted to a full professorship and two years later made Dean of the Normal Department, while being relieved of the principalship of the preparatory department. During

all these years he has been at the head of the work for preparation of teachers, and has been a very potent factor in its development. It is, therefore, with commendable pride that he now regards the School of Education, well equipped, as it is, to give adequate preparations to teachers of our secondary schools and institutions of higher learning.

Professor Kennedy has been faithful and loyal to a high degree, always found at the post of duty, in these twenty years he has never left the institution while in session for pleasure or recreation. He has well earned the leave of absence that the Trustees have granted him. And he plans to spend it in a manner characteristic of the man. He is to have his headquarters at Columbia University during the first semester and at Harvard University during the second. But from these centers he plans to go and come freely in the work of studying educational conditions and practices in all grades of work and in all kinds of institutions. This can not fail of being a source of gratification to himself and as well, on his return, a source of profit to the home institution. Dr. A. J. Ladd, Professor of Education, who for seven years has been very closely connected with Professor Kennedy, will act as Dean of the School of Education during his absence. Dr. John W. Todd has been engaged to carry his class work in Philosophy.

Faculty Changes Since the closing of the regular University year in June, resignations from the instructional force have caused many changes in faculty circles. Where instructors have been efficient, as here, such changes are always to be regretted, tho not always to be prevented. Efforts are always at once put forth to secure as strong people as possible to fill the places made vacant. The regret over the loss of efficient workmen is surpassed only by the welcome accorded their equally efficient successors. It is gratifying to note that while the resignations have been considerable in number, they have been, for the most part, of instructorships, positions least difficult to fill and in which changes cause least disturbance in the work of the departments affected. It is also gratifying to note that while efficient instructors are lost, strong men and women, peculiarly well equipped, have been secured to take their places. The work of the institution will not suffer.

The New Physical Director Of all the changes that have occurred in faculty circles the one that most touches the institution as a whole is that of the directorship of physical education and athletics. The resignation of Dr. Dunlap, who had filled the

position very efficiently for five years, came almost as a bolt out of a clear sky to the great majority of students and friends of the institution. It came, too, after President McVey's departure for Europe, making the selection of a successor both a difficult and a delicate matter. But those who had it in charge, including the Board of Trustees, proceeded with energy and caution, fully conscious, as they were, of the importance of the position to the physical welfare of the student body and of its close touching of nearly every interest of the University thruout the entire state. As a result of their efforts, tho the resignation came late, they soon had a fine lot of well equipped men, some thirty in number, from whom to make a choice.

The choice of the Board of Trustees for this important position, Mr. Charles E. Armstrong, is looked upon as a very fortunate one. Academically and professionally he has a fine record. He graduated from the University of Oklahoma with academic honors and later took a year of graduate work in physical education at Yale University. He has also taken considerable work looking toward the medical degree. All thru his preparatory and university courses he was prominent in athletics, and in practically all forms of athletics—foot ball, base ball, tennis, track athletics &c. A product of the West, with his undergraduate work done in the West and his professional equipment gained in the East, later director of physical education in the West—in the large Normal school at Emporia, Kansas,—Mr. Armstrong comes to the University of North Dakota especially well fitted to enter into the local situation and to guide the athletic interests of the University.

Merrifield Hall It is always risky and many times dangerous to change the names of buildings, especially of college buildings, around which so many traditions cling and so many memories linger. The building and its name and the hundreds of students who have used both so familiarly for years sort of grow together until they all become one, an inseparable complex. One dislikes to disturb such an harmonious group of sentiments, nor is it often done ruthlessly, seldom at all unless the old name has lost its significance or unless another will cement even more closely valued traditions and desired ideals. "Old Main," the first building erected on the University campus, has a warm place in the hearts of a large number of students whom it has sheltered during the last more than twenty-five years. And the name was satisfactory. No one cared for a change. But Dr. Merrifield, whose life for a quarter of a century had been freely given for the institution and whose

spirit had almost been absorbed by the old building, left the institution and the state. Some one suggested giving his name to the old building that had stood so long and had done so well and which is still the real center of the life and work of the institution. The suggestion was well received. Perhaps it was hoped that thus could be retained Dr. Merrifield's spirit of fine democracy, of broad philanthropy and of personal helpfulness. It was felt by the large body of alumni that to give the building any other name would be a desecration, but to christen it "Merrifield Hall" would be to give it a new and a sacred baptism. The Trustees made the change, and all have accepted it with gratification.

Woodworth Hall No satisfactory name had been suggested for the building that houses the School of Education. When the building was first erected the institution was being called Teachers College and, without any formal action on part of the governing body, that name was applied to the building. But last winter Teachers College was somewhat reorganized and given a new name—School of Education. This name was even less convenient than Teachers College as a name for the building, so a shorter, yet appropriate one, was sought. The Trustees finally decided upon Woodworth Hall, in memory of Professor Woodworth who had been a leading and much loved professor in the institution for many years. Added appropriateness is found in the fact that Professor Woodworth was the first principal of the Normal Department which later developed into the present School of Education.

Biological Station When the Biological Station was established three years ago it was directed by the Legislature to work on several problems pertaining to the waters of the state, and to make investigations with respect to all plants and animals in the state that had commercial and scientific value. The Station building on the shores of Devils Lake has been the center of most of the laboratory research, but there have been studies carried on in the field and on two rivers of the state.

North Dakota is credited with an acre of water for every 107 acres of land, by the U. S. survey. This includes both river and lake areas. In view of this large asset the work of the Biological Station staff must be extensive in the field and intensive in the laboratory. It is essential that a knowledge of the facts in all cases pertaining to water problems be ascertained. A survey of the physical, chemical and biological conditions of every body of water should

be made, not only for the purpose of learning what the actual life and environments of life in that body of water are but also to make clear what life may be added to each lake and river in the state. It is proven by the experiments made in attempting to stock various bodies of water with fish in this and other states that the one absolutely essential thing needful is first to find out the facts about the physics, chemistry and biology of the lake or river in question before attempting to stock it with fish or "sheel fish." Whenever this program has been ignored it has been a case of wasting the people's money, a kind of investment akin to buying stock in gold mines and oil wells. In other words it has been the purest kind of gambling. The function of the Biological Station is to determine the *facts* so that wise and numerous investments in the development of the State's water resources may be made.

Under a study of the physics of the water it has been the duty of the Station staff to ascertain the temperature at different levels and at different hours of the day and at different seasons of the year, to determine the specific gravity, the depth to which light penetrates, and gain a knowledge of the factors which control the various and varying physical conditions.

The chemical studies have been concerned with a determination of the kinds and quantities of gases present at different levels, at different temperatures of the day and during the different seasons of the year. Likewise the mineral composition of the water for the varying seasons has been determined.

The biological studies have had to do with the collection and identification of the fixt and floating life of the lakes and rivers. The food that is required by the animals, the parasites that inhabit the animals, and the complex biological relations of the organisms which maintain a biological balance in any lake or river, these and many other questions have furnished material for studies that are concerned with successful fish culture, and in many cases are associated with sanitation and health of human beings.

One of the most important phases of the biological work has been that which deals with the bird life and its relation to crops in the state. A forthcoming bulletin will outline this activity of the Station staff.

It has been possible to effect a cooperative connection with the U. S. Bureau of Animal Industry and the State Agricultural College this year. The results of cooperation are always more complete and therefore more valuable than separate and disassociated activities.

The most intensive work of the Station has been directed to

the examination of the conditions of life in the largest lake of the State—Devils Lake. A few years ago this was productive of much food for man, and gave opportunity for recreation unequalled by any other region of similar size in North Dakota. Subsequent to 1895 there seems to be no authentic record of game fish having been taken in Devils Lake. The cause of the disappearance of pickerel is problematical. Interesting as that question is it is of small importance compared with the inquiry “can game fish be introduced and live and grow in the lake again?”

Prior to the initiation of the studies of the Station staff in 1909 there had been many attempts to restock the lake. Many hundreds of dollars, if not thousands, had been spent by the city of Devils Lake, by individuals and by the U. S. Fish Commission in efforts that were absolutely barren of results, so far as could be ascertained. A repetition of the experiments made by others soon convinced those in charge of the work in 1909 that nothing in successful fish culture could be done until the physical, chemical and biological *facts* present in Devils Lake were determined. Hundreds of collections, analyses, and experiments have been made. It has been found that the physical, chemical and biological conditions of the water in Devils Lake are favorable to fish culture when suitable methods are used in introducing fish into the lake. However, it has been learned that fish invariably perish when introduced directly into the lake water. The reasons for that effect are too complex and numerous to be of interest to the public. The whole matter may be summed up by saying that over 98 per cent of the fish worked with during the past two seasons survived for months, grew and were vigorous when set free in the lake at the termination of experiments extending over six months of control, *provided* the fish were acclimated before they were put into the undiluted lake water.

Having determined that there is abundance of oxygen in the lake water at all times, that there are no chemicals that are detrimental to acclimated fish, and that there are thousands of tons of perfectly good fish food in Devils Lake there now remains but one thing necessary for the successful restocking of the lake, as evidenced by the facts gotten at the Biological Station. That one thing is to develop fish at the Station, in acclimating environments, by the million and thus act as the foster agent which shall supply the millions that came formerly from the old spawning grounds previous to the segregation of the fresh waters to the north. This segregation seems to have caused the total lack of supply of young fish in the early nineties. If the supply ceased does it not explain why the fish

disappeared? If the supply is renewed may one not expect a return to former conditions when Devils Lake will afford much food, and much recreation for North Dakotans? The one added gain will be found in having a variety of fish which will be more satisfactory than those formerly found in the lake. Moreover, the work at Devils Lake will prove of great value to all interested in the development of food and recreation centers at the lakes which are suitable, and in the rivers which may be made suitable, for fish culture.

The foregoing brief summary of the Biological Station's work shows something of the extent of the problems involved as well as something of the difficulties attending the solution of the same. It should be noted that the appropriation for the work is very limited, and provides for only two months of work each year. It has been possible to push the work to the extent that it has been carried by making use of the persons in the Biological Department of the University. These parties have devoted their entire vacations in the summer and thru the year at the University. Such a combination is valuable in the initiation of pioneer work, but it is desirable to effect an organization that can give adequate study the entire year to problems such as are assigned to the Biological Station—problems that are associated with the production of large quantities of food, and the conservation of health thru recreation.

Recent University Publications The following University publications have appeared recently and are for general distribution:

The General University Catalog, 1911-12, with announcements for 1912-13.

Bulletins (reprints of sections of the general catalog) relating to separate Schools or Divisions, including: Division of Medicine, Law School, College of Liberal Arts and School of Education, School of Mines, College of Engineering and General University Information.

General Announcement of the Model High School, 1912-13.
President's Report to the Board of Trustees for 1911-12.

Descriptive Pamphlet, illustrated bulletin, descriptive of the various activities of the University.

The Bureau of Educational Cooperation has issued the following bulletins describing and explaining its work:

- 4A. The University Plan of Educational Cooperation.
- 4B. University Extension Lectures.
- 4C. Correspondence Study Announcements.
- 4D. Department of Public Speaking Announcements.

The Alumni Register, July, 1912.

Departmental Bulletin (Department of Education) under the title, "Teaching of English in High Schools."

Departmental Bulletin (Physics Department) on the Development, Storage and Utilization of Wind Power."

Circular of the State Public Health Laboratory under the title, "The Production and Care of Milk for Infant Feeding."

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THE REGISTRAR,

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Announcement

THE Quarterly Journal is a periodical maintained by the University of North Dakota. Its primary function is to represent the varied activities of the several colleges and departments of the University, tho it is not limited to that. Contributions from other sources are welcomed, especially when they are the fruitage of scientific research, literary investigation or other forms of constructive thought. Correspondence is solicited.

The subscription price is one dollar a year, single numbers, thirty cents.

All communications should be addressed,

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL,
University, North Dakota

Editor's Bulletin Board

THE next number of the QUARTERLY JOURNAL will represent the mental and moral sciences. Three articles have already been accepted: "The New Individualism," by Justice Bruce of the Supreme Court of North Dakota, previously announced for the present number but crowded out by matter more immediately needed; "The Modernity of Tolstoy's Religion," by Dr. Abram Lipsky of New York City, and "Theme Recurrences in Poe's Tales," by Mr. Gilbert Cosulich, Instructor in English, University of North Dakota.

In addition to these, the two following, from others suggested, will probably be used: a study of "Don Quixote," by Henry LeDaum, Professor of the Romance Languages and Literatures, and a discussion of "The Place of the Drama in Modern Literature," by Professor Frederick H. Koch, of the Department of Public Speaking, both of the University of North Dakota. These writers are all virile men, each an enthusiast in his own field and accustomed to do his own thinking. This assures an interesting and valuable number.

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The Quarterly Journal

VOLUME 3

JANUARY, 1913

NUMBER 2

Poor-Relief and Jails in North Dakota

JOHN MORRIS GILLETTE,

Professor of Sociology, University of North Dakota

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NORTH Dakota is a young state. It has accepted its regulations of pauperism and crime from the older states somewhat uncritically. Its own experience has been similar to that of other new states in those particulars, namely, that matters have been allowed to drift because they have not become conspicuous. To the absence of large industrial centers and of organizations which develop

a consciousness and a betterment-conscience relative to social pathology is due the general obliviousness to growing evils.

It may not be unimportant, therefore, not only as a means of directing the intelligence of the State to certain of its conditions and problems but of reflecting a knowledge of those conditions to the world at large, to make public such information as is at present available. A further service for legislative and regulative effort may be performed by indicating the defects of our present state-wide system and by making suggestions as to its improvement.

The first endeavors to obtain information in a new state relative to such subjects as this paper treats are likely to prove far from satisfactory because of the non-existence of published information. The State of North Dakota has no central bureau from which published reports are issued on pauperism, conditions of jails, distribution and cost of supporting the defective classes of the state, not to mention the estimate of defectives not in institutions. Two years ago, after vainly endeavoring to obtain information on the state as a whole relative to the general subjects of poor-relief and conditions of jails, I began a personal investigation into those matters. Whenever I found myself in a county seat, I collected such facts as the county offices held, inspected the jails, visited the poor-farms where they were accessible, and inquired into the workings of the poor-relief system. In this manner, seventeen counties were investigated. Eight counties were visited in connection with the occasional lectures I was called on to give in the state. Information from the other nine counties was obtained by means of field work which very meager departmental funds enabled me to make. It is one of the traditional conditions which still persists in educational institution that are supposed to foster research that departments which use mechanical instruments to carry on experiment are given thousands of dollars while departments whose field of research lies in the world outside are denied any investigative funds or given a mere pittance. I expected, therefore, to be able to report on conditions in those seventeen counties only.

As an illustration of the inchoate conditions which may obtain in a civilized society it may be well to recount that while investigating the sixteenth county I fairly stumbled onto evidence that, filed in the archives of the statehouse at Bismarck, lay unpublished data on the cost of poor-relief and to a less extent the cost of supporting the state insane and feeble-minded for all the counties of the state. For it appeared that county auditors and treasurers are required to file

what is called "Auditor and Treasurer's Annual Report to the State Examiner of North Dakota." Correspondence with the State Examiner's office caused the compilation of such data as existed relative to the other thirty-one counties of the state. I give this experience to illustrate the need there is for gathering and publishing state-wide information on matters pertaining to the backward classes we know as paupers, criminals, and defectives.

I. POOR RELIEF STATISTICS

The following statistical tables give a glimpse into North Dakota conditions during the five years beginning June 30, 1906, and ending June 30, 1911. Table I offers such facts as the county records yield relative to the cost of maintaining the poor, the insane, and the feeble-minded. Table II gives the cost of maintaining the poor by counties for the official years ending June 30, 1907 and 1911, and the total cost to the State in each of those years.

REMARKS ON TABLES I AND II

The statistics relative to the insane and feeble-minded are very incomplete. Inspection of table I shows that many counties keep no record, that others combine them. In the records of the counties the expenses for those classes frequently are placed with "miscellaneous" expenditures.

Relative to poor-relief expenses the items are not always separated, payment for County Physician often being fused with those for support of the poor, or temporary and permanent relief expenditures being combined.

It is apparent that a more specialized system of bookkeeping should be introduced along with more specialized reports. Constructive work cannot be carried on when it is impossible to analyze the situation.

It is entirely impossible to ascertain the number of persons in the State or in any single county who receive relief. I have tried to discover the number assisted in various counties by going back to the warrants. It is impossible. The records are incomplete, fragmentary, and unintelligible. An adequate system of keeping records and books on this point is imperatively demanded.

It will be seen that several counties do not appear in the expenditure column for 1907. This is due chiefly to the fact that either the particular county was not organized then or that it was a part of a large county at that time, the separation occurring subsequently. Generally, the counties of the eastern part of the state

TABLE I
Statistics of Poor-relief and Support of Defectives in North Dakota by Counties for five years ending June 30, 1911.

County	Object	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911
Adams	County Physician	Organized from Stark, 1907	\$ 888.81	\$ 975.91	\$ 729.00	\$ 440.62
	Poor				353.10	893.47
	Poor farm					
	Insanity Board					
Barnes	County Physician	\$ 758.85	879.65	1,217.05	659.06	1,109.39
	Poor	3,117.28	3,904.10	3,874.22	2,023.85	2,204.00
	Poor Hospital			7,041.55	22,588.90	9,712.03
	Insanity Board	492.90	379.36	231.15	333.05	230.00
	Insane			5,598.16	3,210.95	3,046.95
	Feeble-minded			250.00	300.00	596.89
Beenson	County Physician	300.00	450.00		803.85	645.73
	Poor	2,578.94	1,666.72	3,366.89	2,853.44	6,058.05
	Insanity Board	115.50	119.75	127.75	2,500.33	
	Insane		1,552.84	1,941.38		
	Feeble-minded				300.00	3,118.83
Billings	County Physician	320.00	525.00	750.00	524.25	1,087.09
	Poor	173.50	829.10	1,083.20	2,104.73	2,229.88
	Insanity Board			852.86	815.70	73.65
	Feeble-minded					762.28
Bottineau	Poor	4,276.57	2,194.25	4,992.61	3,932.30	5,087.92
	Insanity Board	133.50	100.40	121.75	45.25	125.65
	Insane Asylum and					
	Feeble-minded Institute					
	Institution for Feeble-minded	200.00	232.06	2,636.79	1,723.67	1,511.25
Bowman	County Physician		36.20			1,189.97
	Poor					793.86
	Insanity Board		80.90	48.83		68.20
	Insane			8.10		
	Feeble-minded					30.66

TABLE I—Continued

County	Object	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911
Burke	County Physician	Organized from part of Ward, 1910				
	Poor					308.45
	Insanity Board					2,666.13
	Feeble-minded					82.50
Burleigh						802.15
	County Physician			550.00	450.00	550.00
	Poor			4,602.11	5,095.29	5,772.09
	Board of Insanity			249.95	174.20	298.10
Cass	Insane				5,026.21	
	Feeble-minded			597.25	200.00	929.37
	County Physician		1,675.00	1,878.10	1,897.50	1,895.00
	Poor	1,381.85	3,215.44	7,314.57	3,250.27	4,828.12
Cavalier	Hospital for Poor	13,303.42	16,910.74	15,310.65	16,435.00	21,951.49
	Insanity Board and Feeble Minded					
	Insane	920.05	719.20	1,711.85	1,348.05	1,573.59
	County Physician	620.65	794.10	621.46	6,109.44	8,936.55
Dickey	Poor	3,077.44	3,813.72	3,813.72	3,431.00	3,420.00
	Insanity Board	138.75	128.85	128.85	956.61	193.60
	Insane					1,776.24
	County Physician		944.57		500.00	626.70
Dunn	Poor	2,307.86	1,390.54		1,090.38	2,756.21
	Insanity Board	1,715.36			341.35	68.25
	Feeble-minded				676.70	1,632.84
	County Physician					
Eddy	Poor					26.00
	Insanity Board					500.65
	County Physician					8.75
	Paupers	125.00		201.00	677.10	772.10
	Temporary relief	353.74	633.59	968.08	433.43	946.23
	Insane	53.90	149.30	103.70	238.15	67.15
	Feeble-minded	300.00			4,470.98	1,560.22
	Board of Insanity			200.00		97.99
			9.00	18.50		

TABLE I—Continued

County	Object	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911
Emmons	County Physician	31.50	5.00	1,148.18	427.75	196.63
	Poor	329.34	766.16	1,024.96	1,310.65	990.65
	Insanity Board	289.95	952.03	---	695.89	910.10
Poster	County Physician	30.00	149.00	505.95	98.20	24.00
	Poor	1,632.01	3,259.98	2,226.61	3,627.75	4,335.20
	Poor farm	179.55	---	---	---	---
	Insanity Board	145.31	52.60	---	---	---
	Insane	---	---	553.20	176.00	42.30
Grand Forks	County Physician	---	---	855.85	1,049.56	1,212.46
	Poor	1,450.00	1,436.45	1,734.00	1,644.00	1,450.00
	Poor farm	4,089.69	5,748.16	8,642.89	9,523.04	20,613.13
	Insanity Board	9,664.03	9,535.36	9,256.52	8,688.77	---
	Insane	708.55	684.25	668.55	483.90	750.03
	Feeble-minded	---	---	---	1,320.60 ¹	1.06
Griggs	County Physician	---	---	400.00	250.00	395.50
	Poor	337.50	225.00	532.55	629.20	765.50
	Insanity Board	768.36	537.79	866.22	285.44	922.96
	Feeble-minded	175.00	39.40	68.40	---	---
Hettinger	County Physician	---	---	1,136.75	400.00	1,385.52
	Poor	---	27.80	178.10	131.50	289.90
	Insanity Board	---	178.64	82.46	228.32	298.39
	Feeble-minded	---	25.75	---	147.33	918.49
Kidder	County Physician	958.58	1,011.50	1,779.03	1,531.86	3,228.20
	Poor	184.49	264.66	676.93	645.42	677.60
	Insanity Board	155.05	54.80	104.15	139.60	26.00
	Feeble-minded	---	---	150.00	---	112.99
LaMoure	County Physician	---	---	345.15	274.20	162.90
	Poor	924.35	1,470.87	1,190.72	2,152.32	2,169.03
	Insanity Board	42.75	117.22	---	49.90	59.00
	Insane	---	---	---	879.36	---
	Feeble-minded	---	---	1,437.13	---	1,250.28

1. Amount paid for support of insane in 1912 was \$13,421.16, covering back accounts due to adjustment with State. See notes on poor-relief.

TABLE I—Continued

County	Object	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911
Logan	County Physician	458.26	208.30	685.07	723.07	528.87
	Poor	95.35	50.85	399.74	969.66	533.83
	Insanity Board	139.15	---	54.00	100.80	58.20
McHenry	County Physician	---	---	35.00	243.35	81.85
	Poor	2,400.00	2,522.52	4,411.31	5,883.02	5,085.44
	Insanity Board	529.85	144.27	82.15	312.42	304.50
	Insane and Feeble-minded	---	---	---	---	913.18
McIntosh	County Physician	---	---	483.75	395.14	509.50
	Poor	218.70	454.50	709.31	370.80	177.67
	Insanity Board	41.00	29.75	64.90	90.00	339.31
McKenzie	County Physician	---	---	131.60	189.25	158.55
	Poor	No report	152.30	125.73	44.98	666.27
	Insanity Board	No report	118.32	364.28	623.28	218.85
	Feeble-minded	---	331.80	---	---	640.23
McLean	County Physician	1,291.82	1,252.00	1,079.58	284.25	842.10
	Poor	171.75	1,716.16	3,022.26	1,607.05	1,749.73
	Insanity Board	406.00	119.50	500.91	323.01	448.45
	Insane	---	---	---	1,519.61	---
Mercer	Feeble-minded	---	---	---	---	912.71
	County Physician	No report	---	14.00	189.65	308.50
	Poor	---	---	---	34.00	269.27
Morton	Insanity Board	---	---	352.97	180.00	---
	County Physician	---	383.33	1,861.09	1,374.62	2,077.25
	Poor	350.00	1,499.44	1,664.80	3,106.57	2,949.33
	Insanity Board	612.72	386.85	365.40	218.69	324.80
Mountrail	Feeble-minded	207.75	---	---	144.10	790.76
	County Physician	---	---	---	---	---
	Poor	Organized from part of Ward, 1909	---	681.00	585.40	2,210.85
	Insanity Board	---	---	128.10	72.50	230.95
	Insane	---	---	---	---	1,136.48
	Insane and Feeble-minded	---	---	368.17	1,105.06	936.21

TABLE I—Continued

County	Object	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911
Nelson	Poor	3,058.23	4,188.74	3,974.19	3,537.62	3,497.33
	Insanity Board	270.01	931.63	993.54	1,072.80	1,037.50
Oliver	County Physician	160.00	---	---	148.00	188.65
	Poor	140.00	457.66	151.25	160.04	121.55
	Insanity Board	---	52.75	236.63	33.40	96.25
	Insane	---	115.33	---	238.38	---
	Feeble-minded	---	---	---	---	388.24
Penbina	County Physician	---	---	128.85	241.55	460.15
	Poor	8,023.15	6,668.57	7,105.78	7,320.17	8,087.87
	Insanity Board	775.21	470.60	1,138.25	390.75	347.75
	Feeble-minded	---	725.80	---	900.00	847.88
Pierce	County Physician	344.00	316.50	77.75	181.00	494.60
	Poor	1,168.27	1,703.46	2,085.39	1,688.80	3,395.25
	Insanity Board	340.62	389.34	545.26	657.13	568.00
	Insane and Feeble-minded	---	---	---	---	1,224.46
	Feeble-minded	---	---	---	---	---
Ramsey	County Physician	447.70	625.00	603.20	330.00	609.50
	Poor	2,312.57	2,567.41	3,738.73	3,213.01	4,907.79
	Insanity Board	327.85	722.87	379.80	728.65	352.75
	Insane	---	---	(Insane)	(Insane)	(Insane & F-M)
Ransom	Feeble-minded and Insane	100.00	---	497.80	2,047.12	2,709.36
	Feeble-minded	---	114.15	200.00	422.15	---
	County Physician	350.00	375.00	476.10	583.35	986.30
	Poor	384.35	1,684.05	3,064.04	1,759.14	2,744.06
Renville	Insanity Board	---	---	---	---	---
	Insane	300.00	50.00	---	---	---
	County Physician	---	Organized from part of Ward, 1910	---	---	---
	Poor	---	---	---	---	141.60
	Insanity Board	---	---	---	---	1,320.68
						88.10

TABLE I—Continued

County	Object	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911
Richland	County Physician	1,062.50	1,004.30	1,156.25	1,158.35	941.64
	Poor	3,325.80	3,899.39	3,223.30	2,362.64	2,407.22
	County Poor farm	3,754.80	6,969.29 ²	4,572.88	3,359.01	3,659.86
	Insanity Board					
Rolette	Feeble-minded			Expense appears in miscellaneous fund		3,924.85
	Insane					
	County Physician		60.00	163.75	317.83	443.25
	Poor	1,943.46	1,953.26	2,652.77	1,284.60	1,590.46
Sargent	Insanity Board		70.80	47.40	62.25	60.50
	Insane				1,950.32	697.37
	County Physician	474.92	583.00	1,041.41	731.51	1,678.62
	Poor	1,795.72	1,233.67	1,049.96	1,162.97	1,941.62
Sheridan	Insanity Board	229.40	294.00	487.55	5,831.52	200.60
	Feeble-minded					2,057.04
	County Physician		Organized from part of McLean, 1909	45.00	153.70	616.55
	Poor			90.15	315.81	175.46
Stark	Insanity Board			108.97	494.90	447.51
	County Physician	67.50	493.80	326.00	39.50	354.85
	Poor	217.02	2,905.05	1,710.80	1,690.52	2,574.41
	Insanity Board	176.80	472.15		952.62	1,664.35
Steele	County Physician	500.00	425.00	621.85	947.15	860.70
	Poor	1,528.76	1,386.38	1,473.81	1,290.15	1,619.85
	Insanity Board	6.80	74.90	60.65	82.00	256.30
	Insane				2,523.00	
Stutsman	Feeble-minded					795.10
	Temporary Relief	5,839.24	11,285.73	1,245.21	5,839.24	
	Poor farm		Established in 1909			
	Insanity Board and Insane	409.65	2,103.32	887.39	3,568.29	
	Feeble-minded			3,135.58	3,646.60	4,187.97

2. Increase due to improvements.

TABLE I—Continued

County	Object	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911
Towner	County Physician	545.00	550.00	375.00	506.25	832.50
	Poor	908.83	1,156.30	2,701.87	2,764.76	4,090.28
	Insanity Board	46.40	28.30	303.25	153.85	88.80
Traill	Feeble-minded	---	---	---	450.00	543.31
	County Physician	987.50	825.00	850.00	893.75	593.75
	Poor	1,418.47	1,520.65	2,535.03	1,754.61	1,729.24
	Poor farm	886.93	994.63	1,403.14	779.97	972.78
	Insanity Board	207.45	160.05	332.20	252.35	196.20
Walsh	Insane	---	---	5,136.73	2,006.34	3,157.67
	Assets from sale of produce from poor farm	32.87	3,075.22	600.00	---	(1912) 730.76
	County Physician	1,010.45	628.00	1,657.59	2,488.92	2,147.07
	Poor	7,419.42	6,279.94	4,639.87	5,643.36	7,829.44
	Poor farm	---	1,309.49	1,048.40	1,597.82	1,447.47
Ward (Divided in 1909)	Insanity Board	306.35	442.15	192.55	259.80	88.30
	Insane	700.00	1,469.53	252.15	---	18,287.77
	Feeble-minded	---	776.85	800.00	650.00	836.81
	County Physician	903.63	39.20	163.30	1,055.63	814.80
	Poor	6,721.62	11,105.61	10,555.37	10,368.03	14,709.01
Wells	Hospital expenses	---	8,171.39	8,277.78	12,796.30	5,917.85
	Poor farm	---	Established 1909	---	18,840.51	2,615.77
	Insanity Board	848.50	762.31	---	---	---
	Insane and Feeble-minded	---	---	3,111.94	4,779.52	2,435.72
	County Physician	---	425.10	451.10	1,259.41	1,356.13
Williams	Poor	1,753.89	2,965.92	2,803.94	3,133.98	4,288.82
	Insanity Board	81.65	710.52	56.40	2,412.78	146.35
	Insane	---	---	---	---	1,362.83
	Insanity Board	---	---	404.99	246.05	311.45
	Poor	No report	---	1,986.45	3,138.54	5,136.70
	Feeble-minded	---	---	---	---	788.79

TABLE II

Poor-relief Expenditures by Counties for Years Ending June 30, 1907 and 1911.

County	1907	1911	County	1907	1911
Adams - - -		\$ 1,314.09	Morton - - -	\$ 962.72 (1909)	\$ 5,026.48
Barnes - - -	\$ 3,876.13	13,025.51	Mountrail - -	681.00	2,210.85
Benson - - -	2,968.94	6,703.78	Nelson - - -	3,058.23	3,497.33
Billings - - -	493.50	3,316.87	Oliver - - -	300.00	310.20
Bottineau - -	4,276.57 (1908)	5,987.92	Pembina - - -	8,023.15	8,548.02
Bowman - - -	126.10	1,983.83	Pierce - - -	1,452.27	3,889.85
Burke - - -		2,974.58	Ramsey - - -	2,760.27	5,517.29
	(1909)		Ransom - - -	743.35	3,730.36
Burleigh - - -	5,152.11	6,322.09	Renville - - -		1,472.28
Cass - - -	17,220.32	28,674.61	Richland - - -	8,143.10	7,008.52
Cavalier - - -	3,698.09	4,110.75	Rolette - - -	1,943.46	2,033.71
Dickey - - -	2,307.86	3,382.91	Sargent - - -	2,270.64 (1909)	3,620.24
Dunn - - -		526.65	Sheridan - - -	135.15	729.01
Eddy - - -	532.64	1,785.45	Stark - - -	284.52	2,929.26
Emmons - - -	360.84	1,187.28	Steele - - -	2,028.76	2,480.55
Foster - - -	1,842.46	4,579.20		(1910)	
Grand Forks -	15,804.32	22,063.13	Stutsman - -	5,839.24	9,407.43
Griggs - - -	1,405.86 (1908)	1,688.46	Towner - - -	953.83	4,922.78
Hettinger - -	206.44	588.29	Traill - - -	3,292.90	3,295.77
Kidder - - -	1,143.07	3,905.80	Walsh - - -	8,429.87	11,423.98
LaMoure - - -	924.35	2,331.93	Ward - - -	7,625.25	21,441.66
Logan - - -	551.61	1,062.71	Wells - - -	1,753.89 (1909)	5,644.95
McHenry - - -	2,400.00	5,167.29	Williams - - -	1,986.45	5,136.70
McIntosh - - -	218.70 (1908)	687.17	Total - - -	128,917.15	240,469.80
McKenzie - -	270.62	824.82			
McLean - - -	463.57 (1909)	1,591.83			
Mercer - - -	14.00	342.50			

sustain the heaviest expenditures because they are more populous and have the larger cities, the western part of the state having been but recently settled and containing only a sparse population.

The cost of poor-relief in the state almost doubled in the five-year period, increasing from \$128,917.15 in 1907 to \$240,469.80 in 1911. The total population of the state in 1905 was 437,070; in 1910 it was 557,056. These figures approximately represent the years ending June 30, 1906 and 1911. That is, while the population was gaining 32 per cent the cost of maintaining the poor in the state enlarged 86.5 per cent. *In that time the expenditure for that purpose grew 2.7 times as fast as the population.*

The county records are incomplete on the matter of income and expenditures of the county asylums. But one county, Richland, of

those I have previously investigated, makes a pretext of keeping a record of the income from the attached farm. The expenditures for the county asylums should be reduced by the amount of the incomes from the farms, but no one knows what those amounts are.

My investigation has convinced me that if the state wants its counties to conduct their poor-relief business as a business it must make exact and intelligent requirements of overseers and county auditors and treasurers in matters of reports and records.

The increase in expenditures has been steady, regular, and general. It is not caused by the birth of new counties for their expenditures swell the total but little. The bad crops of 1909 seemed to affect the general increase only slightly. Their effect does not appear in the comparison of expenditures of 1907 and 1911 anyway, for 1909 falls midway between. There have been no extraordinary circumstances in the state to account for the heavy growth. The explanation lies in the fact that has been noted in every state where relief remains unregulated that uncontrolled charity makes paupers and rapidly increases poor-relief expenditures.

II. STATISTICS OF DEFECTIVES

The chief aim of this paper is to make a somewhat full statement relative to poor-relief. A subordinate aim is to indicate the conditions of jails. The defective class is touched on necessarily in relation to dependency. It may prove helpful to give a few further and later statistics as to the defective persons in the State.

THE FEEBLE-MINDED

June 30, 1912, there were 166 feeble-minded persons in the State Institution at Grafton, 88 males and 78 females. Cass and Morton counties furnished 10 or more each; Bottineau, Burleigh, Pembina, and Stutsman, from 8 to 9 each; Barnes, Cavalier, Grand Forks, Nelson, Stark, Steele, Walsh, Ward, and Williams, from 5 to 7 each; the remainder furnished 4 or less each. The institution at Grafton probably contains not more than one sixth of the cases in the State who should be segregated, treated and educated. The superintendent estimated in 1908 that there are at least 1000 feeble-minded in North Dakota. He urges segregation, at least during the reproductive period.³ The counties support their inmates in the institution.

3. Report of Feeble-minded Institution, Bismarck, 1908, pp. 9-10.

During the biennial period ending July 1, 1912, the institution cost the State \$94,729.88, probably one-fourth or more of which was expended in erecting and furnishing a hospital building.⁴

THE INSANE

The State Hospital for the Insane at Jamestown, September 31, 1912, housed 828 patients. Cass and Grand Forks counties contributed 67 and 58 respectively; Ward and Walsh, 43 and 42; Barnes, Pembina, Richland, Stutsman, and Towner from 31 to 38 each; Benson, Burleigh, Morton, Ramsey, and Williams, from 20 to 26 each; Billings, Bottineau, Burke, Cavalier, Divide, Eddy, Foster, LaMoure, McHenry, McLean, Mountrail, Nelson, Ransom, Sargent, Stark, Steele, and Wells, from 10 to 18 each; the remaining counties, under 10 each; the State at large contributed 13.⁵

The counties pay \$15.00 per month toward the support of each one of their patients. The per capita cost for the biennial period ending June 30, 1912, was \$190.64 per year. The total amount received from the counties for the quarter ending September 31, 1912, was \$36,982.54.⁶

THE DEAF

The State school for the Deaf, located at Devils Lake, at the present time is attended by 86 pupils. Grand Forks, Wells, Barnes, and Towner counties send from 5 to 9 each; the others of the 35 contributing counties send less than five, the great majority only 1, each. The school is supported by the income from a 40,000 acre land grant and by State appropriations. Seven counties paid for the clothing and railway fare of certain of their contingents. Generally the parents are able to furnish these expenses. The Superintendent estimates the per capita cost of maintaining and educating the pupils for last year at about \$350.00.⁷

THE BLIND

The North Dakota Blind Asylum is located at Bathgate. It is supported by income from a 30,000 acre land grant which covers current expenses, and by appropriations. It has been in operation but five years. Its enrollment for 1910-11, was 23; for 1911-12, 28, from 23 counties. The average cost of maintenance during the

4. Report of Feeble-minded Institution, Bismarck, 1910.

5. Statement received from the Superintendent of the Institution, Nov., 1912.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

biennial period, June 30, 1910, to June 30, 1912, was about \$15,000, of which about \$2,000 was for somewhat permanent improvements.⁸

III. JAILS OF THE STATE

I have visited and inspected over 20 county and city jails in North Dakota during the past two years. My intention had been to publish the notes which were made relative to each jail at the time of inspection. But the space allotted to me in this *Journal* prevents that. Instead I shall classify the jails and give the conditions illustrating each group.

1. Bad. The jails of Bottineau, Cavalier, Eddy, and Nelson counties, and of the city of Williston belong in this group. A description of the Cavalier county jail may be given to illustrate bad or even very bad conditions.

The county jail at Langdon, Cavalier Co., was visited February 23, 1911. It is in the basement of the courthouse, occupying the front. Only the rooms on the south side of the hall are used—two others only in very rare cases. The rooms used must be some 16x18 ft. in width and a little over double that in combined length. The sitting room is not an uncomfortable room, having two windows and being on the sunny, light side of the building. The dining room and dishwashing room is about half the size of the sitting room, contains a table, oil stove for heating dishwater, one or two slop vessels, and the chemical closet.

The cells, one double and two single, stand back of this dining room. The double cells are without light and have their ventilation thru the other rooms. The bedding looked filthy and lay just as the former prisoners had left it. A spray pump was used for disinfecting it. The turnkey said the air of a morning after several prisoners had used the slop pail during the night was frightful—had made him lose his breakfast.

The jail is a fire-trap. Should a fire occur in the building so as to cut off the hallway, a very easy thing to do, there is no external exit or inlet to prison doors. The prisoners would almost certainly perish. The turnkey said he kept an ax to cut thru the floor in case the basement stairs were blocked, a very insufficient device.

There is no provision for sex separation, save the room across the hall, nor for separation of insane from other prisoners, or of juvenile offenders. I was informed that one insane person had been kept among the other prisoners during about two weeks until further

8. Ibid.

information could be received from Canada, his home. Meanwhile he was violent and dangerous. The protection of the insane person from himself, as well as the protection of the other inmates from him, was loaded on to the other prisoners. Sleep was impossible for any of them. After a certain time they rebelled and refused to take care of him.

County officials talk of building a new courthouse and jail ere long. They feel the insufficiency of this.

My notes relative to the Eddy county jail contain this statement, "indescribably dirty and filthy." The Nelson county jail is a small antediluvian wooden structure, unfit in every particular to house a human being. The Judge has ordered a new jail built in the district.

My notes on the city jail of Williston are as follows:

"Low concrete building. Corridor between the two rooms, separated from them by thick concrete walls. The only light is from little windows, about six by eight inches in size, placed near the ceiling. A real old time dark dungeon, cold and dehumanizing. Heated by stove in hall but officer says it is very cold. Mattresses doubled upon floor are only visible bedding. Should be a criminal offense to confine men in such a place."

2. Poor. To this group belong the jails of Barnes, Grand Forks, and Mountrail counties. I give my notes relative to the latter:

"One-story frame structure. Sheriff's office in front. Back room, 16x16, contains cages. Steel cages in center, corridor on three sides. Hall between two rows of double cells, i. e., two cells on each side of hall. Doors of cell to lock. Hammock beds. Bedding looked dirty—probably no dirtier than that of many citizens, however. But one cell in use. A "pigger" outside doing work. Wide corridor in front containing gasoline stove, table and toilet. Many articles and utensils sitting about and placed on top of steel caging. Better than many basement jails. Piggers and insane patients chief occupants, so deputy sheriff says. Many persons arrested as insane on complaint of neighbors as result of neighborhood troubles. Afterwards proven to be sane—returned from Jamestown. Seems to be a standing practice. Deputy recalled some half dozen cases of that sort in last two years."

The Barnes county jail is kept as well as a basement jail can be kept. The walls and ceiling are whitewashed, but the cells are surrounded on three sides by interior walls. The only light is from three windows at the side. Being removed some distance from these windows the cells have little light and sun. At times they are

crowded. Crowding and unsanitary conditions characterize this jail.

The impossibility of sufficiently lighting the interior corridors of the jail of Grand Forks county, and the ancient character of a part of the cells and cell arrangement are sufficient to place it in this class. It cannot be called a modern structure.

3. Fair. The jails of Cass, Burleigh, Stutsman and Williams counties and of the cities of Jamestown and Grand Forks should be placed in this group. The Williams county jail may be taken as typical of those of the counties. To reproduce notes on this jail:

"Two-story structure annexed to courthouse tho not entirely separate. So built because special election to submit not required, as would be the case if entirely separate. Lower floor occupied by sheriff. Upper floor contains women's ward and men's ward. Men's ward is steel inclosure with corridor all around. Bathtub in corridor. Steel inclosure contains four cells, two on each side of common hallway and opening on to it. Each cell intended for four men. Floors of cement. Fairly good type of jail but corridors narrow, and bedding unsanitary. Four inmates—1 trusty, 1 embezzler, and 2 piggers."

The jails of Jamestown and Grand Forks are located in the basement of new city halls. In each case the criticism is that they are so located that the desirable and sterilizing influences of the direct rays of the sun are practically excluded.

4. Good. The McHenry, Pierce, Ramsey, Richland, Stutsman, and Traill county jails, together with the jail of Valley City, are to be classified as good. Practically all of these structures are to be considered modern. My notes relative to the Ramsey county jail are as follows: "A model jail. Built about 1910-11. Occupied a year. Sanitary, warm, fairly well lighted, separate from all buildings, differentiated for sexes, insane, and juveniles. Contains shower baths. Cement floors. Lighted by electricity."

North Dakota counties are showing themselves progressive in the jails they are building at the present time. When the county builds now the commissioners visit the best institutions they can find and the plans adopted generally embody the best ideas in jail building. Still, it would be useful if a State Board were compelled to keep on file plans of modern jails and if it possessed at least advisory powers relative to counties when building.

The inhuman conditions which prevail in some institutions, and there are probably many more in the state belonging to the group I have called bad, make it imperative that state inspection of these institutions should be established. It should be said that some

quite good jails, structurally, are very poorly kept. The bedding, especially, of many jails is poor and filthy. Diseases may easily be conveyed from prisoner to prisoner when this is the case, and by them to the public at large.

I find that probably one-half of the inmates of jails are "piggers." In the Ward county jail at Minot, for example, last Spring, were 24 inmates, 23 males and 1 female. Nineteen of these were imprisoned for violating the Prohibition Law. This is an unusually large proportion of "piggers" but illustrates a condition.

IV. THE SYSTEM OF POOR-RELIEF IN NORTH DAKOTA

For purposes of general information, as well as of constructive criticism, it may prove useful to give the essential points in the system of poor-relief in North Dakota as related to poor-relief administration. The poor laws of the state recognize and provide for both relief in institutions and in homes or families.

I. INDOOR RELIEF

In legalizing the matter of indoor relief the statutes empower the establishment of a poor-farm on the part of one county, or jointly on the part of two or more counties. So far, there has been no joint establishment. The county commissioners who, when considering poor-relief matters are designated "overseers of the poor," are authorized to "employ some humane and responsible person, a resident of the county, to take charge of the same (poor-farm) upon such terms, and under such restrictions as the Board shall consider most advantageous for the interests of the county who shall be called superintendent of the county asylum."⁹ Fortunately for North Dakota, but few such asylums have been established. Usually a tract of arable land, varying from 80 to 200 or more acres, is joined with the asylum. Except in cases of emergency the superintendent must have an order from the commissioner of the district from which the applicant for admission comes to receive him as an inmate. He is to receive and care for inmates as county charges, to take such measure for their care and employment, and to perform such other duties as the commissioners designate, consistent with the laws of the state. Permanent charges shall be sent to the asylum (if there be one) by order of commissioners. Pay-patients may be maintained. An asylum physician is appointed by the commissioners. Children

9. Revised Statutes, 1905, Section 1871 b.

at the asylum which are not bound out shall be sent to some common school within the county during its session. The superintendent shall direct their education. The superintendent shall, in writing, at the first and third sessions of the Board of County Commissioners, make a detailed report "of the time and manner of admissions of each pauper, his health and fitness to labor, the result of his industry, and the expenses incurred."¹⁰ This report shall show the total number of paupers, and the commissioner's district from which they originate, together with the total number of pay-patients with the amount they pay.¹¹

The County Board must visit the asylum annually. It shall annually appoint a board of visitors of three members, one of whom shall be a minister to visit the asylum "at least quarterly" and to report at least quarterly upon conditions and treatment obtaining in that institution and to make recommendations for changes and improvements. This report shall be considered by the Board and published with its proceedings. The visitors receive such compensation as the Board thinks reasonable.

2. OUTDOOR RELIEF

The county commissioners as overseers of the poor are authorized to carry out the provisions of the law relative to the temporary poor. The county aids all poor and indigent who are in need according to laws of settlement, and the county commissioners are to levy a tax to this end. The laws of settlement are those which commonly prevail. The overseers shall allow and pay relief to needy persons of sound mind; also to poor parents of idiots and helpless children an amount common in such cases. The names of persons helped are to be kept in a book with the date of assistance. County commissioners when acting as poor overseers are to be paid two dollars per day. An amendment to section 2613 of the Revised Statutes sets the compensation of commissioners at five dollars per day. Most commissioners have applied this to their duties as overseers. Some have held that it does not so pertain and claim that legal advice is against such interpretation. Overseers report to the county auditor the sums required for poor relief and the same is paid annually on the order of the county commissioners. The overseer's report of relief extended during the previous year is submitted to the county commissioners annually at their first meeting. When allowed it is paid by the county treasurer.

10. *Ibid*, Section 1877.

11. Session Laws, 1907, Section 1877.

3. STATE BOARD OF CONTROL

The State Board of Control, which was established by the legislature of 1911, is given financial, regulative, and investigating authority over state institutions for dependents, defectives, and delinquents, namely, Insane Asylum, Jamestown, Institution for Feeble-minded, Grafton, School for Blind, Bathgate, School for Deaf, Devils Lake, State Penitentiary, Bismarck, and Reform School, Mandan. In addition to this the law of establishment indicates that it may extend its investigative functions further. The Session Laws of 1911 state:

"The Board shall incorporate in its biennial report required by section twelve of this act, suggestions to the legislature, respecting legislation for the benefit of the several institutions, or for the dependent, defective, or criminal classes of the state."¹²

This provision doubtless empowers that Board to report local conditions. However, certain limitations in the law would probably prevent the exercise of this rather incidental function.

4. VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

The first organized charity association to be formed in North Dakota was established in Fargo in 1909 or 1910. It began with a paid secretary and visiting nurse, a board of directors and various voluntary workers. It appears that the directors manifest little interest in the work and that the efficiency of the organization has been crippled on that account, as well as thru a lack of means within the recent past.

The two chief contributors of funds are the city of Fargo and Cass County. Combined, they appropriate \$1800, the latter giving \$50.00 a month to salary of the visiting nurse, the former the same amount to her salary and \$50.00 a month to the general fund of the associated charities. The secretary estimates that the year's expenditure will approximate \$3000. The remainder, \$1200, is to be raised by the Commercial Club of Fargo. The associated Charities acts as a clearing house for the other charitable agencies of the city.

The Associated Charities of Grand Forks was organized in the Fall of 1910, being successor to the Union Aid Society which had held the field for many years. Its organization was largely affected by President F. L. McVey of the State University, who had been President of the Associated Charities of Minneapolis for several years, and followed the general plan of the Minneapolis organization.

12. Session Laws, 1911, Section 16, Chapter 62.

It has a board of directors, several standing committees, and an executive committee consisting of the chairmen of those committees together with the president, vice presidents, and the secretary. The directors are responsible for the general policies, raising funds, and the employment of a field agent and visiting nurse. In the Spring of 1911 an agreement was entered into between the city, county, and associated charities, by which the city and county each gave \$600.00 a year to employ a field agent who was to work under the direction of the Associated Charities, the latter furnishing office room and certain clerical help. Tag day yielded \$1146.00. Besides these amounts the Visiting Nurse's Committee raised money to purchase medicines and other necessities which were used in the work of the visiting nurse.

At the end of the year the Board of County Commissioners refused to renew the contract for the county in the support of a field-agent, altho in the appointment of an agent their wish had been followed in the selection of a county resident and in the person of their own nomination. The Associated Charities had desired the employment of a person trained for the position. The county Board charged that poor relief expenditures had not been decreased and that it could not justify the expenditure. The field agent submitted figures to prove he had saved the county money, comparing expenditures during his year's contract with those of the previous year, and showing that expenditures had been decreased by \$3,566.73 and by 29½ cords of wood. The larger amount of relief work in the county is given in Grand Forks, hence he believed that he had been a factor in effecting economy. Further evidence of his preventive work is found in the fact that for the year ending with January, 1911, 102 families had been aided in the whole county, 76 of which were aided in Grand Forks, while for the year ending with January, 1912, 60 families had been aided in the whole county, 38 of which were aided in Grand Forks. That is, in Grand Forks 22 families had been eliminated from assistance, while but four outside the city in the whole county had been dropped.

This illustrates our backward condition in administering charity for preventive purposes in our larger cities. Unless the commissioners cooperate in relief work with organized charity so that duplicate giving is eliminated, pauperism cannot be checked. The dishonest will insist on being supported and the local commissioners will aid practically all who apply for relief.

In both Fargo and Grand Forks the position of the visiting nurse is quite secure. Her work is such that it makes a direct appeal. Her

efficiency in helping home and family conditions appeals to the women and enlists their hearty support. Her efficiency in cases of sickness makes the medical practitioners her allies and supporters. It is not apparent to the uninformed that a trained secretary or field agent would be quite as valuable a community asset by reason of his special insight into the nature of pauperism and his knowledge and use of preventive agencies.

The following statement of how Valley City carries on its out-door poor relief was sent me by Mrs. Frank White of that city.

"Our work is done by a Committee appointed by the Improvement League; the members being from different churches. This committee is brought before the public by means of the press and requests made that no charity work be done without communicating with the Committee. Every effort is made to put the needy on their feet without making them objects of charity, and the reports of some of the cases taken care of are of very great interest.

"The local organizations gave one hundred dollars to the Committee to spend for Christmas dinners. These were not given to those who were especially in need of charity, but to some of the families who were having a hard time to make ends meet, and who would not have a turkey dinner without the help. Baskets were packed and delivered the day before Christmas. It is likely that the same thing will be done this year.

"At all times cases have been reported to the County Commissioners, if their help is needed, and nearly every case that came under their observation was turned over immediately to the Committee.

"Our Riverside Hospital is the best monument to the Charity work of our town, in fact to the Improvement League, for at the time it was built, the work was not organized as it is now. This hospital was built after the method spoken of by Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane. It almost pays its own expenses, and our county charges have the benefit of the most modern up-to-date home with trained nurses and free medical care."

The United Charities of Minot was organized January 1, 1912. The relief work is carried on chiefly by the president and secretary of the organization. My informant¹³ makes this statement. "The county commissioners have cooperated with us splendidly, and took charge of those who looked like 'permanent' cases, while we took those which required only temporary relief. We expect the amount raised Saturday (\$820.25 on 'Tag Day') to be sufficient to run the

13. Mrs. S. Henry Wolfe, Minot, Secretary.

organization during the winter and also pay for a visiting nurse for at least six months at \$75.00 per month."

The report of the previous year's work is taken from the *Minot Daily Reporter* of November 11, 1912, the material having been furnished by the Secretary of the United Charities:

"The total receipts were \$588.70 and the total disbursements had been \$451.13. Of the balance \$90.00 has been set aside for a fund for the establishment of a Y. W. C. A. here, and this is one of the projects for which the ladies are anxious to raise more money next Saturday.

"The visiting nurse must be retained and the United Charities will in all probability have to provide the necessary funds for her work. During six months Mrs. Stone gave attention to 95 families, making 905 calls. Of these cases, 15 were obstetrical and the visiting nurse perhaps rendered her greatest and most welcome services in cases of this kind. Mrs. Stone's work has been of inestimable value to the poor of the city, the children, especially, having come in for valuable attention during sieges of whooping cough, measles, stomach complaint, and the various other illnesses to which children are so often subject and unless proper care can be had for them, they frequently result fatally or in impaired health for years to come.

"Aid was given to 30 families, one of which was given attention eleven times by the United Charities last winter. The other families average from one to six times each."

5. CHILDREN'S HOME

A children's home is located and maintained in Fargo. The institution consists of a very good frame building which accommodates about 40 children, 18 of whom are infants. An annex has been recently equipped for the care of disabled dependent children. Children are received from all parts of the state and are also placed-out in all parts of the state. The children are not bound out. Those who are placed in families have no visitation except such occasional visits as the financial agent who solicits for funds and the superintendent of the home in traveling in behalf of the institution can make.

V. NORTH DAKOTA POOR ASYLUMS

It is fortunate for the future of North Dakota that so few counties have established institutions for the poor. Only eight counties maintain homes for the poor. Thus the preponderating portion of poor-relief of a permanent nature is carried on by the outdoor method. Providing appropriate safeguarding legislation can be secured which shall compel counties as they seek to provide

such institutions to build modern specialized buildings, the state will be able to secure quite uniformly adapted poor asylums.

I have visited five of the eight poor-farms and will give my impressions as to their competency.

BARNES COUNTY

Barnes County erected a county hospital in 1909, discarding the old poor-farm, a miserable makeshift, for a comparatively modern institution. The present plant cost \$25,735.55, of which expenditure the grounds absorbed \$3,500.

The hospital is a brick structure consisting of two stories. An attic which was unfurnished at the time of my visit is to be furnished and used for a typhoid ward, medical floor, and nurses' room. The second floor contains two ward rooms, four single rooms, an operating room, a sterilizing room, and two bath rooms. It is devoted to the use of private pay patients and serves to defray much of the cost of maintenance of the whole institution. The first floor is set aside for the use of the county poor. It has three wards, two single rooms, a nurses' room, superintendents' room, and public parlor. The basement includes a kitchen, two dining rooms, a store room, furnace, bath, laundry, two pantries, a bed room for the furnace man, and the cooks' room as a part of the store room.

The hospital idea is uppermost in this institution, particularly the paying phase. The proper care of the poor is a secondary consideration. There is no provision for separating tubercular poor from others. A tubercular patient is now a constant care because in order to prevent the spread of the disease all the dishes and clothes must be boiled below. There is no diet room. As a consequence, the nurses must visit the common kitchen, which is both inconvenient and unsanitary. There is no provision for cooks and nurses in separate rooms. The confinement of a sick woman constitutes a problem. What is to be done with the sick baby is a puzzle.

CASS COUNTY

The Cass county hospital and asylum for the poor is located three and one-half miles north of Fargo. The plant consists of an 80 acre farm, a large brick building of three stories and a basement which is used as hospital and asylum, a one-story frame building about 100 yards to the rear of the latter building which is devoted to able-bodied men, and four farm buildings. The front side of the brick structure, on the first two floors, is devoted to hospital purposes. The rear part of the building is the home of poor inmates and

consists for most part of separate rooms. About 20 old men and women occupy these quarters, the usual nondescript and paralytic class. Something like a dozen patients are cared for in the hospital wards, a number of whom were children with typhoid. Pay-patients are received. The wards and operating room are spacious, clean, and light. Three nurses are in attendance, two for day and one for night duty. The basement contains kitchen, vegetables, furnace, etc. The present superintendent and wife are intelligent people who take an interest in the care of the institution. They receive \$110 per month and keep.

The building is clean and well-kept. The frame building to the rear is occupied by eight or ten more or less able-bodied men. The inmates of the Cass county institute are largely foreign. The superintendent finds little family pride among foreigners, especially Bohemians, as to leaving relatives in the poor-house. The able-bodied men do a limited amount of work, but it is a problem how to get regular labor from them, as it is generally. The farm furnishes the larger portion of the vegetables used in the institution, and feed for the stock. There is no accounting system by which an estimate may be made of the farm's contribution.

The institution is most beautifully located at the edge of the woods on the south bank of Red River as it bends eastward, and the open forest offers splendid outing opportunities for the old and infirm in mild weather.

GRAND FORKS COUNTY

The Grand Forks County Hospital is located near Arvilla, about twenty-two miles east of the city of Grand Forks. The present brick building was built in 1895 to replace the old building which was burned. It cost \$17,500 but has been much enlarged and improved since it was built. One wing of the building is set apart for men, the other for women. Besides, there is a drug, and operating room, wards for tubercular, and fever patients, family apartment, etc. The building is well lighted by plenty of windows. Besides the superintendent and wife who together received \$100 per month at the time of my visit in 1910, there is a nurse who also serves as matron in the women's ward, a second nurse, a cook, waiter, laundry girl, and two hired men. The payment for help of all kinds averages about \$3100. For the year ending June 30, 1912, it was \$3162.26. Expenditures for the same year above this were \$7,120.54. The average monthly cost per inmate for February, 1909, was \$17.64, which may have been above the monthly average for the whole year.

In May, 1909, the inmates were distributed according to their entrance by months as follows:

January, 5; February, 3; March, 2; April, 1; May, 1; June, 2; July, 1; August, 3; September, 2; October, 3; November, 8; December, 2. Thus 42.9% were admitted during November, December, and January.

Distributed by years the entries were as follows: 1894, 2; 1899, 2; 1900, 1; 1904, 1; 1905, 3; 1906, 1; 1907, 2; 1908, 16; 1909 to May, 6. The large increase in 1908 and 1909 may be due to the policy adopted by the Board of County Commissioners to send permanent cases to the Hospital.

The causes for seeking admission are recorded as follows: Destitute, 8; demented, 4; rheumatism, 2; tuberculosis, 1; limbs amputated, 1; limbs frozen, 2; pregnant, 1; inebriate, 2; typhoid fever, 1; disability, 9; pauper, 3. Thus 89 per cent of the 34 inmates are paupers, in so far as the causes assigned are true.

Eight of the inmates at the time of my visit were children. They were kept in a separate part of the building away from the adult paupers as much as possible, and sent to the village school. The children of the school seemed to treat them well altho they at first made them feel their poverty. They take part in all school exercises and have frequently acquitted themselves with credit. Emrado furnishes the attendant physician.

The institution contains two padded rooms for insane and for discipline purposes. They are said to be used infrequently. The former superintendent had much trouble in matters of discipline.

RICHLAND COUNTY

The poor-farm of Richland is situated about one mile south of the city of Wahpeton. The plant consists of a 240 acre farm, large barn, and outhouses, and a composite frame building of two stories and basement which has a capacity of about thirty inmates. The building provided for asylum purposes consists of an original school-house and another building patched together, onto which has been joined a wing which was meant to be a hospital. Such a building is difficult to specialize for the various groups of inmates and is a burden in matters of cleaning and heating. However, at the time of my visit in October, 1912, it was scrupulously clean. Most of the inmates occupy separate rooms. The best part of the plant is the large concrete basement in which are located laundry, fruit, vegetables, furnace, water for pumping purposes, etc. A neighboring coulee contains a cesspool which takes the sewerage of the institution.

There are eight inmates at present. Several of these are feeble-minded persons, one of whom is a girl of seventeen who is also deaf. An older sister of this girl is feeble-minded and has caused much trouble by her desire to be with the men. Most of the inmates are old derelicts and some are paralytics. There are no children inmates tho there have been several previously. The institution usually supports from twelve to twenty inmates.

Of the 240 acres of land, 200 are tillable, and being exceedingly rich as is that also of the Cass, Trail, and Grand Forks county institutions, yield abundant harvests in good years. Twenty acres of the farm are devoted to agricultural experiment purposes under the supervision of the State Agricultural College. The superintendent states that he keeps account of receipts and expenditures, and that two years ago the farm yielded an income of \$200 above all institutional expenses, that last year it ran behind \$1400, it being a poor year for crops, and that this year he expects it will meet expenses. In his estimates is not included interest on investment, depreciation, and other similar items.

The overseer and wife receive \$60.00 per month and their living.

WARD COUNTY

The poor asylum of Ward county is located four miles south of the city of Minot. At the time of my visit, April, 1912, it had been in use about three and one-half years. It is a brick building, commodious, but built on the farm-house plan, which means that it is not a modern institution. It is a two-story structure, the lower floor being devoted chiefly to uses of kitchen, dining rooms, sitting room, and living apartments, altho there are a few rooms for inmates. Inmates generally have separate rooms. There are separate wards for old men and old women, with several beds in each. There are a few rooms for two or a family. Little arrangement exists for separating the sexes, classes, or diseases. There is no hospital provision. Hired men and hired girls sleep upstairs alongside of inmates.

There are seventeen inmates, seven of whom are children. There is one family consisting of man, wife, and five children. The man seems "queer" but works under superintendence. The woman is also dull or "queer." The children who are in school are rated dull by the teacher. Besides these are a woman with two children, six or seven aged men and cripples, and an aged woman. There is no authority given the overseers to use discipline. The wife of the overseer thinks that a dark room or a straight jacket should be provided. A shower bath is also needed in her estimation.

The superintendent is salaried. The help is employed by the commissioners. The water supply is very poor. Ordinary wells have failed. The water of a deep well is unusable. Water has to be drawn from a distance. Toilet-rooms are put out of commission. In spite of this, the building is clean and orderly.

Undoubtedly the county made a mistake in constructing this expensive building. The same amount of money would have provided a modern, specialized institution, with hospital facilities. Since the county has been divided and there is plenty of space in the institution, steps might well be taken to provide hospital facilities, and for separating the inmates into groups according to classes, age, and disease.

A 320 acre farm containing several fine barns and farm buildings is part of the plant. It was supposed that the farm would support the institution, but, until this year, there have been crop failures. There is no accounting system in use so that the exact debit and credit side is unobtainable.

VI. NO ADEQUATE SYSTEM WITHOUT PREVENTION

No state can sustain an adequate system for the care of its dependents, defectives, and delinquents which does not recognize the necessity of prevention in the operation of every part of the system. The really modern system rests on the recognition that those unfortunate classes are the products of conditions which may be known and largely removed by the exercise of intelligence and vigilance. It is certain that all of those classes might be greatly lessened and consequent misery and expense largely reduced thru the use of adequate methods, preventive agencies, and checking devices.

In order that later statements may be understood it may be well to state some of the larger well-established principles in the care of the unfortunate persons in question. I do not speak of the larger things which society should undertake as a general preventative, such as an education diversified sufficiently to reach the aptitudes of backward individuals so that even the mentally sluggish may be rendered self-supporting; or an education which uses modern social teaching and agencies so that tendencies towards crime are checked; or legislation which shall reach the inequalities of wealth and labor so that all who are able and disposed to work may have an ample income to support and train an efficient family. Such things are desirable and probably furnish the only effective prevention of pau-

perism and crime. Rather I shall have to confine my remarks to such principles as immediate legislation and administration may act on for mitigative prevention.

1. Local institutions should be so administered that pauperism and crime are not fostered. For this reason all juveniles should be excluded from poor houses and jails, or if in cases of exigency they must become inmates for a brief time, complete separation from adults should exist. Nothing is more certain than that children become like the adults they are thrown with, thru close and constant imitation. In like manner jails should be used only for detention places of persons awaiting trial, not as places for punishment. They are not fit for punishment or reformative purposes because they lack the element of work and training. Neither should poor asylums contain others than permanent paupers, that is, the aged, the infirm, and the disabled. Special classes should be provided for in specialized institutions. Insane, feeble-minded, and epileptics should have adequate provisions made for them by the state where proper treatment may be given. Entire sex-separation is demanded for obvious reasons. Especially is it imperative to avoid the ever imminent peril of perpetuating the unfit in body and mind who shall ever rest as a burden on society. Intelligent laws and wise, vigilant supervision are called for to realize these ends.

2. The defective classes should be separated in institutions provided for them alone. Most unwise is the state, which, in the face of the revelations of the past few years, relative to the consequences which come from permitting such persons to reproduce, continues inert as to the present situation. There is no longer any doubt as to the hereditary nature of certain defective traits. Recent investigations and research have demonstrated that defectives produce defectives somewhat upon the lines of Mendelian principles. The investigations of Davenport, Goddard, and others have furnished ample evidence of this. Weak in will, as defectives are, and possessed of all the sexual desires, reproduction, not only, but reproduction of unusual lavishness is certain to follow on leaving them to mix freely in the population at large.

I shall cite two examples of stocks of people who have visited great burden of misery and expense on the community. The Kallikaks, especially, illustrate the transmissible character of defectiveness, along with the social evils which flow from its unrestrained reproduction. The Jukes probably illustrate the influence of a bad social environment in producing bad characters more than it does the evils of transmitted defects. Since the facts indicate that evils

ensue in either case, the question becomes one of what is the appropriate method to use in each case. Segregation or sterilization are the remedies prescribed for transmitted evils.

The noted Jukes family is an example of the combination of vice and dependency which may be allowed to develop in neglected rural communities. The original Jukes were rural New Yorkers, as were many of the descendants. But of a total lineage of 1200 persons, 709 were investigated by Mr. Dugdale. Of these 540 were of Jukes blood and 169 connected by marriage. Of the 305 blooded Jukes who reached marriageable age, 82 were illegitimate, 73 prostitutes, 12 kept brothels, 51 were syphilitics, 49 were criminals, 95 received outdoor and 53 almshouse relief. Of the 169 who married Jukes, 9 were illegitimate, 55 prostitutes, 6 kept brothels, 16 were syphilitics, 27 were criminals, 47 received outdoor and 11 almshouse relief. This takes no account of the 58 of the first class and 23 of the second class who were unascertained. Fifty-two and four-tenths per cent of the Jukes women were harlots. The investigator estimated that in 75 years they cost the community \$1,250,000, besides the evil inheritance they imposed on posterity. This family is only an extreme case of a type of family which many country and village communities are breeding. Loose methods of relief, a lax or absent police power, and backward methods of treating youthful offenders are among the conditions which build up and perpetuate these stocks.

A family which promises to become even more famous than the Jukes is the Kallikak Family. This family stock has been investigated by the assistants of Dr. H. H. Goddard, director of the research laboratory of the Training School at Vinland, New Jersey, for the feeble-minded girls and boys, and the results have been made public by Dr. Goddard in a book, "The Kallikak Family."

The parents of this stock were a Revolutionary soldier and a feeble-minded girl, or rather their illegitimate son, Martin Kallikak, Jr. From Martin Kallikak, Jr., have come 480 descendants, of whom 143 were feeble-minded, 46 were normal, and the remainder are undetermined for lack of evidence. Among the 480 descendants, 36 were illegitimate, 33, sexually immoral, mostly prostitutes, 24, confirmed alcoholics, 3, epileptics, 3, criminals, 8 kept houses of ill-fame, 82, died in infancy.

These descendants married with people of about the same type, making a group of 1146 recorded and charted persons. Two hundred and sixty-two members of this larger group were feeble-minded, 197 were considered normal, and the remainder were undetermined. The

latter were frequently not what would be called good members of society.

The members of the Kallikak family lived in rural regions for most part. What the record of crime, vice, and pauperism would have been had they been residents of cities can only be imagined. But in the morally superior conditions of the country the record is startling and reveals the danger which is likely to come as the result of inadequate laws and methods of treatment of a hereditarily and socially contaminated stock.

Segregation of defectives is the least that can be demanded. The folly of leaving weakminded persons in local institutions and in the population at large is apparent. Progressive states are even moving further, namely, making sterilization obligatory for certain defective and criminal types. Any state is criminally remiss which does not at least effect thoro segregation.

3. There should be instituted effective checking devices and state control relative to county jails and poor-relief administration. First, laws are needed which make duplicate giving impossible. This duplicate giving is seen in cities which are seeking to regulate charity and to place it on a preventive basis. A case is investigated. The applicant is able-bodied and work is found for him. He refuses to work and insists on being carried. The charity organization refuses relief. The county commissioner is then visited by the applicant. He does not believe in regulated charity work, is poor-relief overseer for the district in which the city is located, does not feel the burden of dispensing county funds to all who ask, and hence relieves the able-bodied applicant. He refuses to cooperate and has power to defeat. Cities should be empowered to manage and disburse their poor-relief fund. This is the only effective remedy for the intolerable situation.

Further compulsory cooperation with relief agencies is demanded to prevent duplicate giving. The Indiana Township Poor Law is explicit on this point. It requires that the overseer shall inform himself about all relief agencies and societies in his district, obtain information of them as to whether applicants for relief are assisted by them, give them information in the same manner, cooperate with them in finding employment, and in every way possible to prevent duplication of relief.¹⁴

Second, publicity of the full details as to number of persons assisted, time aided, and amount of relief given is a necessary checking device on prodigal giving. This should be required of every public

¹⁴. Township Poor-relief Laws, 1901, Chapter 147; Chapter 161 and 193, Sections 13-14.

relief officer and the full facts should be published in the county papers. This is not done in North Dakota. It is done in Indiana and the effects have helped to secure a revolution in the way of reducing pauperism in that state.

Third, state regulation and supervision of local public relief and jails is quite as imperative as a checking and directing agency. This should consist of investigations, visitation and inspection, furnishing of building plans, and the publication of reports required of local authorities.

Investigations made by state boards or their experts would furnish necessary facts for wise legislation on matters relating to the unfortunate classes. Visitation and inspection by a regular officer of a state board who had a training and competency for knowing what local institutions should be and accomplish is the only adequate means for securing steady improvement in the conduct of poor houses and jails. This is well-nigh as important as that our schools should have state inspection. Regulating the building of new jails and poor-houses thru insisting that plans which embody modern arrangements and facilities is required to prevent parsimonious and backward communities from erecting medieval and incompetent structures. Requiring that reports be made by local officers to a state board serves the double purpose of exercising a check on local expenditures thru state-wide publicity and of securing a most-needed means of obtaining information about conditions in the state as a whole.

A notable example in the United States of a state which has recognized the above principles as necessary means of adequately controlling conditions of dependency, delinquency, and defectiveness, is found in the state of Indiana. Thru a series of laws enacted, beginning with the year 1889 Indiana has secured such control of the situation in that state that it may properly be regarded as the leading commonwealth in those directions. It certainly leads in the regulation of pauperism. What it has done in the latter particular may serve to illustrate the effectiveness of such principles when put into operation by competent agencies.

The reform laws which were passed by the state of Indiana during a series of years account for the decided changes which have taken place in poor-relief matters in that state. By years they were as follows:

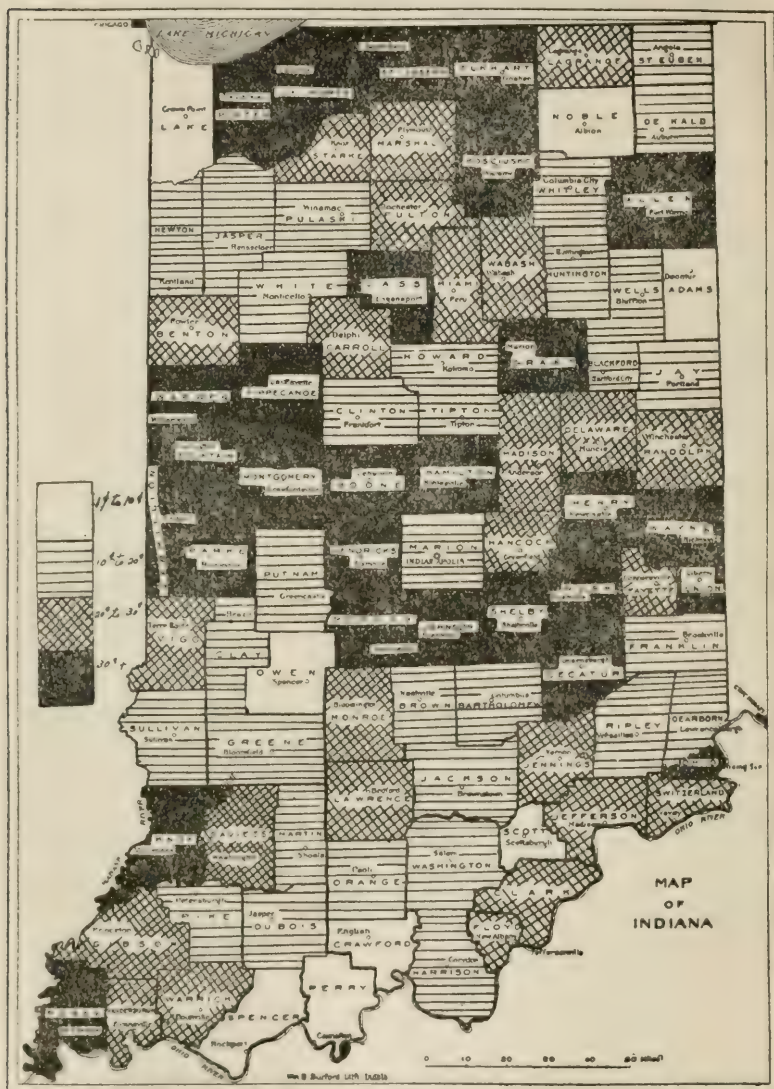
1889, creation of a State Board of Charities.

1895, requiring detailed poor-relief reports (first law looking to supervision of outdoor relief.)

MAP 1

OUT-DOOR POOR-RELIEF IN 1891

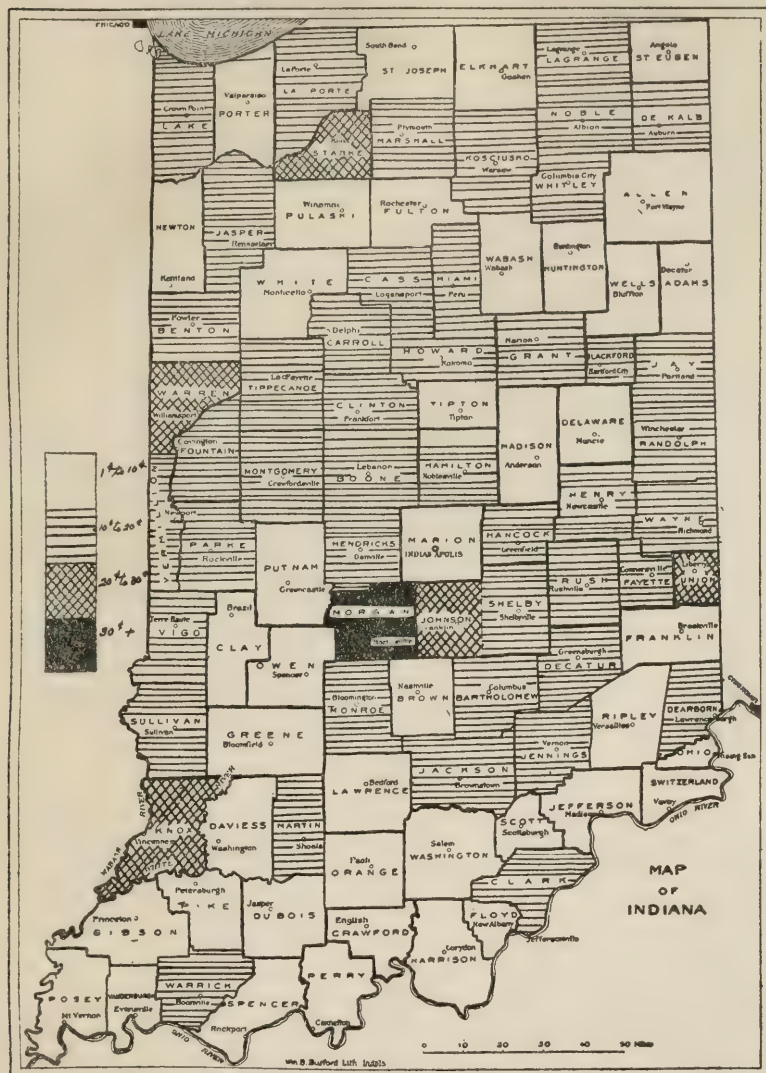
Showing Difference in Cost to Each Inhabitant of the Various Counties.
Based on the Total Value of Aid and the U. S. Census of 1890.



MAP II

OUT-DOOR POOR-RELIEF IN 1910

Showing Difference in Cost to Each Inhabitant of the Various Counties.
Based on the Total Value of Aid and the U. S. Census of 1910.



- 1897, requiring township overseers of the poor to levy a tax on property in their respective townships to reimburse the county for money advanced on account of poor relief.
- 1899, establishment of Board of County Charities. Placing township poor relief on the basis of Charity Organization principles. Limiting amount of relief in given time without sanction of county Board.
- 1901, codification of poor relief laws.
Retention of children in poor asylums limited to sixty days.
- 1903, regulating plans for county hospitals by State Board of Charities.
- 1905, extension of law concerning rape to cover carnal knowledge of a woman who is insane, epileptic, idiotic, feeble-minded, a pauper, a poor asylum inmate, or an inmate of the Woman's Prison or Industrial School for Girls.¹⁵

A statement of the effects following on the enactments of these laws is reproduced as made by the State Board of Charities of Indiana:

"Beginning with \$560,012.35 in 1891, this sum had increased five years later to \$630,168.79. The average for the five years was \$573,850.95—more than half a million dollars. The second five-year period witnessed a remarkable change. With the passage of the law of 1895 requiring detailed records, and the publicity given to the statistics collected from the reports made in accordance with that law, there came about a more careful administration of the poor funds. The average annual expense of \$573,850.95 above mentioned dropped to \$312,514.46, a decrease of 45%. The following tabulation shows the effect of the present poor relief law on taxation:

TABLE III

Year	No Levy in Township	Levy under 5 cents	Levy 5 cents and over	Number of Townships
1898	64	515	435	1,014
1899	50	607	357	1,014
1900	146	644	226	1,016
1901	154	620	240	1,014
1902	181	611	223	1,015
1903	233	617	165	1,015
1904	224	649	144	1,017
1905	289	581	146	1,016
1906	317	593	106	1,016
1907	335	603	78	1,016
1908	348	580	88	1,016
1909	276	634	107	1,017
1910	361	582	74	1,017

15. (a) *The Development of Public Charities in Indiana*, pp. 13-16.
(b) *Indiana Bulletin of Charities and Correction*, March, 1906, pp. 71ff.

"As will be noted from the figures given, 64 townships made no levy in 1898, in 515 the levy was under five cents on each \$100, and in 435 it was five cents or more. * * * In 1910, the figures of 1898 were practically reversed, 361 townships made no levy. In 582 it was less than five cents, in 74 it was five cents or more, the highest being fifteen cents. The lowest point reached in the state's expenditure for outdoor poor-relief occurred in 1900 when the amount was \$209,956.22, which was 66⁶/₁₀% of a reduction over the amount paid in 1895. In 1910, although Indian's population had increased 23¹/₁₀% since 1891, the outdoor poor relief cost the state \$266,181.16. Had the 1891 rate prevailed in 1910, the amount paid by the state would have been \$688,723.38. *During those twenty years township poor relief in the state had decreased 52⁴/₁₀%.*

"Of a greater value, however, than the saving of money, however important that may be, is the reduction in the number of persons depending either partially or wholly upon public support. It is not known how many persons received the sums given prior to 1896, but the report of that year showed a total of 74,414, and the next year, when more complete reports were received, the total amounted to 82,235. The reports of 1910 showed a total of 43,227 recipients of public help. The ratio of persons helped to total population was in 1897, one in every 31; in 1910, one in every 62."¹⁶

The foregoing maps of the state illustrate the reduction in the cost of outdoor poor-relief from 1891-1910:

VII. NEEDED LEGISLATION IN NORTH DAKOTA

North Dakota's system of poor-relief and of state control of the whole situation relative to dependents, defectives, and delinquents is undoubtedly to be pronounced as weak and insufficient when mesured by well-known, enlightened principles and the laws and practices of older states. This does not mean wholesale condemnation. We are warranted in recognizing the worth of certain of our provisions and of our state institutions generally, together with the good intention of the citizenship of the state to do its best according to its "lights." There is some extenuation for the present situation. The state has never thoroly studied conditions as a state. It has witnessed no campaign of education bearing on such matters. Being a new commonwealth, local voluntary associations interested in the backward classes are just struggling into existence. As yet there is no state-wide

16. Ibid, June, 1911, pp. 5-15.

organization of individuals who are so interested, which might exercise a beneficent influence toward constructive legislation and general state supervision of local agencies or institutions.

But the time has come when North Dakota legislators, the state administration responsible for enlightened and progressive government, and intelligent leadership thruout the state should face the situation seriously with a view to taking wise and constructive action for effective control.

In the light of principles which are well established in preventive charity work and for most part embodied in the codes of progressive states, I shall proceed to indicate the deficiencies in our North Dakota system. In order to compass the matter in the space at my command I shall do this pointedly and dogmatically, necessarily assuming that the reasons and principles previously expounded will be sufficient for purposes of understanding and demonstration.

I. INDOOR RELIEF

Provisions in our laws are absent relative to indoor-relief or relief in asylums for the poor, on the following desirable items:

1. Separation of the sexes.
2. Segregation of inmates with contagious and infectious diseases.
3. Exclusion of defectives, namely, the insane, feeble-minded, and epileptic.
4. Exclusion of children, or satisfactory disposal of dependent children.
5. Strict laws on admission and dismissal.
6. Proper training of overseers.
7. Law regulating building plans.¹⁷
8. State inspection of asylums for poor.¹⁸
9. Detailed bookkeeping relative to inmates, and of all incomes and expenditures.
10. Requiring labor of inmates according to their ability.¹⁹
11. Visitation of both public and private institutions by Commissioners or Board of Health.²⁰

2. OUT-DOOR RELIEF

The system of poor-relief carried on outside of poor institutions which constitutes by far the greater part of relief in North Dakota is deficient in that no legal provision is made covering the following needs.—1. Thoro investigation of every applicant for assistance, of frequent visitation during the time relief is being given, and of supervision.²¹ 2. Requiring relief agents to keep a detailed record of

17. Ohio, No. 1353; New York, No. 118 and 142.

18. Ibid.

19. Massachusetts Acts, 1905, Chapter 344, Sections 23-24.

20. Ohio, Sections 2497-2499.

21. Indiana Township Poor-relief Law, 1897, Sections 7-8.

causes of pauperism of each recipient, the time he receives relief, amount of relief given, and the work done in return for the same, and kindred items. There can be no efficient checking-up of relief work without such a record.²² 3. Limit on amount which may be given any applicant, without approval of County Board.²³ 4. Defining amount overseer may receive for poor-relief work, whether \$5.00 or \$2.00 per day, and prohibiting charging the day's rate for writing a relief order.²⁴ 5. Necessity of making a detailed report by every overseer to county Board, and to State Board of Control, and of publishing the same in county papers in which relief is given.²⁵ 6. Requiring State Board of Control acting as State Board of Charities to investigate conditions of dependency in State, to compel detailed reports from County Boards on outdoor and indoor relief, to publish the same annually, and to exercise inspection and supervisory authority in relation to county institutions.²⁶ 7. Requiring labor of able-bodied recipients on pain of being treated as vagrant; or refusing aid.²⁷ 8. Verification by claimant of relief received.²⁸ 9. Application of property of absconding persons leaving dependents to support of the same.²⁹ 10. Adequate treatment of tramps and vagrants.³⁰ 11. Compulsory support of families by deserting or inebriate head by assignment of wages to family. 12. Penalty for non-enforcement of settlement laws.³¹ 13. Against shipping dependents to other communities without their sanction.³² 14. Making cities of ten thousand population or other population limit independent as poor-relief districts.³³ 15. Extending the law of rape to cover carnal knowledge of a defective female, as in Indiana law of 1905.

3. STATE SUPERVISION

State supervision of conditions and institutions concerned with the dependents, defectives, and delinquents is most desirable. Supervision is distinct from administration. The latter now obtains relative to state institutions for those classes. The State Board of Control created in 1911, which consists of three members, exercises administrative authority. As we saw, it is also empowered rather incidentally to

22. *Ibid.*, Sections 19-20.

23. New York Poor Law, Section 23; Indiana Township Poor-relief Law, 1897, Section 11; Minnesota Township Poor-relief Law, Section 1962.

24. Indiana Township Poor-relief Law, Section 29.

25. *Ibid.*, Sections 19-20.

26. Indiana, New York, &c.

27. Ohio, Section 3492; Massachusetts, 1903, Chapter 355, Section 22; Indiana, 1897, Section 10.

28. New York Poor Law, Section 25.

29. *Ibid.*, Section 130.

30. Ohio, Section 13408-9.

31. Indiana, Section 15.

32. *Ibid.*, Section 15-16.

33. The Law in Many States.

investigate, report on, and make recommendations relative to general conditions in the State. So far it has not exercised the latter prerogative.

It would seem that a State Supervisory Board whose duties are to investigate local conditions, require and publish reports from local officers of poor institutions and jails, to advise with them as to the best methods of caring for their unfortunates, and to carry on the education of the public in respect to these matters, is the best means of bettering conditions in the State. The board should have supervisory functions relative to State institutions for the dependents, defectives and delinquents, also. The supervisory board might be paid or unpaid, might consist of one or several members. Its value consists in its educating influence on the public, its constructive influence on better local and State institutional conditions in caring for unfortunate members of society, and in checking the influence of the political spoils-men who might be appointed to the administrative board, the State Board of Control.

Several types of the supervisory board exist among the states. The most efficient type is that which operates in Indiana. It is found in sixteen states and one district and its powers are about those indicated above. After years of experience and legislation, Illinois in 1900 established a system of central control in the form of a State Board of Administration, and of state supervision in the shape of a State Supervisory Board. Nebraska, Minnesota, and Oklahoma maintain practically the same system. But one state which has established a supervisory board has permanently annulled it. Others have abandoned the plan, only to reinstate it again, because of its beneficial influences.

North Dakota is in need of a State Board of Charities acting as a supervisory board, and the Legislative Assembly of 1913 should establish such a board. It should also enact into law the suggestions which were previously made relative to poor relief and the care of the defective classes.³⁴

SUMMARY

A brief mention of some of the important points of the preceding pages is perhaps desirable. The fact has been established that during the five-year period extending from June 30, 1906, to June 30, 1911, the expenditure for poor relief in North Dakota has grown from

³⁴ "State Supervision and Administration," Report of Committee Appointed by the National Conference of Charities and Correction, Proceedings of the latter, 1909, pp. 392-415.

\$128,917.15 to \$240,469.80; an increase of 86.5 per cent. During the same time the population increased 32 per cent. That is, poor-relief expenditure increased 2.7 times as fast as the population in only five years. At the same rate it would amount to more than five times the population growth during a decade.

An examination of the causes led to the conclusion that unregulated public poor-relief is most responsible for the marked increase in expenditure. This is further enforced by comparing North Dakota laws for regulating relief with those of Indiana, and especially by noting the great reduction in both cost of maintenance and number of persons relived which took place in Indiana during the twenty years subsequent to the passage of adequate regulating laws. Between 1891 and 1910 Indian's population increased 23.1 per cent while poor relief expenditure actually decreased 52.4 per cent. The relation of persons helped to the total population in 1897 was one in every 31; in 1910 it was only one in every 62. In 1910 over one-third of the thousand townships of the state made no poor-relief levy, while practically everyone had levied, and many had levied heavily, in 1891.

Facts given indicate that we need an improvement in many of the jails and poor asylums of North Dakota in order that proper prevention may obtain, and even for the sake of decency and humanity in the case of certain jails. Especially was it noted that the avoidance of serious peril in future consists in the placing of fecund defective persons in state institutions.

A study of the principles of prevention together with the laws in operation in progressive states suggested the improvements which should be made by the next Legislative Assembly in the North Dakota poor-relief system. Thoro investigation of all cases, prevention of duplicate giving, full reports of cases and expenditures by local overseers and superintendents, more adequate book-keeping and accounting, separation and segregation of defectives, exclusion of children from poor asylums, publicity of the detailed accounts of cases and expenditures, and state supervision of local institutions and of administration of poor-relief are some of the important points covered. The table of contents at the beginning of the paper will enable the reader to locate the various points.

The Aldrich Banking Plan:

With Special Reference to
North Dakota

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DURING the recent national campaign the discussion of the Aldrich plan of banking reform was temporarily suspended. The lull in the propaganda was due, in a large measure, to the indifferent or hostile attitude of the three big political parties towards the Aldrich plan. The Republican platform declared in general terms in favor of banking legislation but did not specifically approve or condemn the bill recommended by the National Monetary Commission. The Progressive Party declared in its platform: "We are opposed to the so-called Aldrich currency bill." The Democratic Party, to which we must now look for national legislation during the next four years, also declared itself against the Aldrich plan, in these words: "We oppose the so-called Aldrich bill or the estab-

lishment of a central bank." During the active campaign all parties ignored the banking problem. It was not only not raised to the dignity of an issue but was completely brushed aside as being either of no consequence or as being too important to be dragged into the political forum. In view of the fact that the Aldrich plan has been so badly abused and grossly misrepresented, it is perhaps fortunate that this particular bill did not become a plaything for politicians.

It is not likely, however, that the Aldrich plan, which is the final product of an elaborate, thoro-going and expensive investigation by the National Monetary Commission, will be shelved. The widespread and effective educational propaganda conducted during the last five years must surely come to fruition in the near future. While the (Democratic) House Committee on banking and currency has decided to reject the Aldrich bill, many important features will be retained.¹ The country demands some remedial legislation and this so-called Aldrich plan, or something substantially similar to it, will soon be presented in Congress. In his recent message to Congress President Taft recommended the adoption of the Aldrich plan.

In the light of such impending legislation the writer regards it appropriate and worth while to analyze the Aldrich bill, calling attention especially to its application to an agricultural community like our own, North Dakota. The proposed banking legislation has been considered most generally as affecting our industrial and commercial institutions. Too little has been made of its application to the needs of the agricultural interests. We are apt to forget that agriculture is still one of our largest industries, and that the aggregate loans made by farmers run up into the billions of dollars.²

We shall present our study in three distinct parts: in Part I we shall describe briefly the essential features of the form of organization and functions of the proposed Association; in Part II we shall discuss some of the evils of our present system and corresponding remedies proposed by the Aldrich bill; in Part III we shall test the soundness of the plan in the light of North Dakota conditions. The author claims no originality in dealing with the material presented in parts I and II. The reader who is familiar with the Aldrich plan, and has followed recent discussions concerning the weaknesses of our present banking and currency system, will lose nothing by passing directly to Part III. The value of this investigation, if it has

1. Chicago Tribune, Nov. 27, 1912.

2. The farmers' debts are estimated to be about \$6,000,000,000. Cf. Estimate made by Mr. B. F. Yokum, Chairman of the Board of Directors, St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad, in an article in "World's Work," Sept., 1912.

anything to contribute, consists in calling attention to the virtues and shortcomings of the Aldrich bill when applied to an agricultural region. As it is our endeavor to emphasize this relation of the bill to agricultural needs, we shall omit the consideration of such phases of the new plan as have no bearing upon rural problems.

PART I. THE BILL ANALYZED

The bill proposed is one submitted and recommended by the National Monetary Commission dated Jan. 9, 1912, after a long and exhaustive study of our own and foreign banking problems and methods.³ The bill recommends not a central bank like that of Germany or France but a private banking institution controlled co-operatively by all the banks in the country, including state banks, trust companies, and national banks. There is to be a head corporation, with a paid-up capital stock of at least \$100,000,000, known as the National Reserve Association, whose stock may be subscribed for by national banks, state banks and trust companies.⁴ The purchase of such stock confers upon the individual bank all the privileges of membership in the National Association.

FORM OF ORGANIZATION

In planning the organization of this new association, great caution was exercised to make it democratic. The plan contemplates the placing of effective permanent control with the individual banks thruout the country and to keep it out of the clutches of Wall Street. Whether it succeeds or not remains to be seen.

Banks which have subscribed for stock in the National Association organize what is called a local association made up of at least 10 banks in any contiguous territory and having an aggregate capital of \$5,000,000 or more. These local associations are self-governing organizations. Indeed one might say that a distinctive feature in the form of organization is that the banks will be organized *co-operatively* very much after the pattern of our clearing house associations. New local associations may be organized at any time or in any locality. The duties and powers of these local associations will be mentioned in another connection.

The local association is governed by a board of directors elected by representatives of the individual banks forming the local association.

³ This bill is printed in the report of the National Monetary Commission, Senate Document No. 243, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session.

⁴ Cf. Sections 6 and 7 of bill.

In voting for three-fifths of the directors, *each bank has one vote*, irrespective of size. The remaining two-fifths of the directors are elected by the same representatives of the individual banks but in this case (in electing two-fifths of the directors) voting is done on the basis of stock held in the National Reserve Association.⁵

These local associations are affiliated with or become members of a larger unit called the "branch association," of which there will be 15 in the entire country; one branch in each of the 15 districts into which the country is mapped.

The branches of the National Reserve Association are also governed by boards of directors elected by representatives chosen by the board of directors of the local association. Each local board has one representative, and each representative has but one vote in voting for one-half of the directors of the branch. For instance, if there are 101 locals in a district, 51 of the locals may elect one-half of the directors of each branch, tho the remaining 50 may be ten times more important judged by their capital or deposits, etc. The remaining directors of the branch (one-half of the directors) are elected by the same men representing the locals, but in the case of one-third of these the voting power shall be in proportion to the amount of National Reserve Association stock held by their respective banks.⁶

The central, directing head is the National Reserve Association board of directors which controls the principal organization—the parent corporation. Their election is largely by the directors of the branch along democratic lines, as in the case of the local and branch associations. Some 30 of the total 46 directors of the head corporation are to be elected by the branches, each branch to select two directors, thus eliminating the undue influence that eastern branches would have if the directors were apportioned on the basis of voting stock, as in our industrial corporations today. The United States government would have four directors on the board; and the head executive officer, the governor of the National Reserve Association, must be selected by the President of the United States for a term of ten years. Altho the National Reserve Association is a private corporation, the United States government is rightly represented on the board of directors because the association will be the principal fiscal agent of the United States government.⁷

5. The authorized capital stock of the National Reserve Association will be 20 per cent of the total capital of all subscribing banks. Before it can do business, however, \$200,000,000 stock must be subscribed for and \$100,000,000 paid in cash.

6. Cf. Section 8 of bill.

7. Cf. Sections 9 and 10 of bill.

One must concede that outwardly, at least, the organization is purely democratic and designed to protect it from exploitation by influential eastern banks. At the top stands the National Association which derives its power from the individual banks organized in local associations and branch associations. Further comment on this point is reserved for another place in this article. In passing, however, it may be noted that Wall Street (New York City banks), which has about 40 per cent of all our bank capital in the country, will be able to elect only 14 per cent of the directors of the new association.

MEMBERSHIP IN ASSOCIATION

On what terms may banks become co-partners in this bankers' association? Membership in the association is not limited to national banks. State banks and trust companies will be on the same footing as national banks. There are four main conditions imposed upon banks desiring membership:

1. To become a member in the local association and to enjoy the privileges of the National Reserve Association, a bank must subscribe for stock issued by the National Reserve Association in amount equal to 20 per cent of its paid-in and unimpaired capital.

2. State banks desiring to subscribe for stock must have a paid-in capital in amount not less than is required for a national bank in the same locality. Special provisions and restrictions are made for trust companies.⁸

3. State banks must maintain reserves against demand deposits in character and amount required of national banks in the same locality. Special provisions covering reserves for other classes of deposits are also made in the bill.

4. All subscribing banks must submit to examination and to make such reports as are required by law and to comply with conditions imposed by the act.

How these provisions would affect North Dakota banks will be discust later.

FUNCTIONS OF THE NATIONAL RESERVE ASSOCIATION

In the first place, it must be remembered that the association is not organized for profit, all earnings above 4 per cent on outstanding stock is given over to the United States government. The Association will not do business with individuals but with banks only.

8. Cf. Section 3 of bill.

1. The National Reserve Association will be the principal fiscal agent of the United States government. All government funds will be handled by this association and not by the private national banks as at present. There will be removed all temptation to use government funds to favor certain few banks that happen to have a "pull" with the treasury officials.⁹

2. The National Reserve Association, thru its branches, will rediscount short time paper, that is, notes and bills of exchange arising out of commercial transactions, including notes based on or secured by *agricultural* or industrial products. Notes that are rediscounted must mature within 28 days. *Bills or notes secured by stocks and bonds are not included in this function.* This means that a four-month note given to a bank can not be rediscounted until it has run for three months and has 28 days more to run. Such notes must have been made at least 30 days prior to date of rediscount and must bear the endorsement of the subscribing bank. The total amount of notes thus rediscounted for a bank cannot exceed the capital of the bank. To guard further against the abuse of this privilege, the law provides that such rediscounted notes, when signed or endorsed by one person or company, shall not exceed one-tenth of the bank's capital.¹⁰

3. Rediscount of long time paper: The National Reserve Association may rediscount (thru one of its 15 branches) commercial paper having from 28 days to 4 months to run, but such paper must be guaranteed by the local association. At this point the co-operative principle becomes operative. No single bank can make improper use of this privilege of rediscounting since the guaranty of the local association is required. The local association will be wary about guaranteeing such paper unless sound, for the guaranty means the financial responsibility of paying for bad paper in case of a bank failure. A bank can have its paper rediscounted only at the branch of the district in which it is located.¹¹

It is clear from these provisions that an effort will be made to create an open market for loans on commercial paper for the entire country. Here the bill puts its fingers on one of the sore spots in our present commercial banking system. We have no broad market where sound commercial paper, based on actual marketable products, can be readily bought and sold.

9. Cf. Section 23 of bill.

10. Cf. Section 26 of bill.

11. Cf. Section 27 of bill.

The rates of discount and rediscount will be fixed by the National Reserve Association. Hence, we are likely to have a uniform rate of discount for the whole country for the same class of paper, due allowance being made for variations in local conditions.

4. The National Reserve Association can also purchase from a subscribing bank acceptances which arise out of commercial transactions. Such bills must have not more than 90 days to run. These are prime bills. That is, notes or drafts accepted by some responsible party and further accepted or endorsed by some responsible subscribing bank. Under special conditions, passed upon by the Governor of the Association and concurred in by the executive board, the National Reserve Association, thru its branches, may discount the direct obligations of a depositing bank. Such bank paper, however, will have to carry the endorsement of the local association of which the borrowing bank is a member. So that a responsible, solvent bank can borrow money on its own paper if properly indorsed and acceptable to the head officials of the National Reserve Association.

5. The National Reserve Association will also have power to deal directly in foreign exchange.¹² That is, it can buy and sell checks and bills of exchange that arise out of transactions payable in foreign countries. The act also provides for the organization of banking corporations to do business in foreign countries. At present our national banks have no such power and hence cannot deal directly in foreign bills of exchange, known as bank acceptances. Our cotton crop, for instance, has always been financed, more or less, by European banks. The purpose of this provision is to enable the American bankers to get their legitimate share of foreign business. North Dakota ships a large amount of its wheat to Duluth for exportation to foreign markets. Such foreign consignments would be handled by our own banks.

6. The National Reserve Association will have sole power to issue notes.¹³ National banks will be forbidden to issue further amounts of bank notes. *Present bond-secured bank notes will gradually be replaced by these National Reserve Association notes.* The latter will be protected by a gold reserve equal to 50 per cent of notes outstanding. When the reserve falls below 50 per cent, the National Reserve Association is taxed at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for each deficit of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent below 50 per cent. For example, if the reserve falls to 40 per cent, then the tax will be four times $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent or

12. Cf. Sections 35 and 57 of bill.

13. Cf. Sections 41, 48 and 52 of bill.

6 per cent. And when the reserve falls below 33 1-3 per cent, no notes shall be issued. These notes constitute first lien on all assets and are redeemable in lawful money at the head office and at the 15 different branches. These notes will be sent to individual banks without charge of transfer. At present banks pay from 35 to 75 cents per \$1000 for such currency shipments.

Summary: We have shown thus far what form of organization (the National Reserve Association) will assume. The form of organization is as democratic as anyone could desire. We have also outlined the chief functions of the Association which consist of (1) sole power of issuing notes; (2) power to create a discount market; power to discount bank paper and rediscount customers' papers endorsed by the bank and, in some cases, guaranteed by the local association; (3) power to act as principal fiscal agent for the government, and (4) power to deal directly in foreign exchange.

PART II. EVILS OF OUR PRESENT SYSTEM

This in brief is the banking plan proposed by the National Monetary Commission. To appreciate its principal reform measures, one must study the bill in the light of existing banking and monetary evils. We shall, therefore, direct our attention to some of the flagrant weak spots in our present system and show how the proposed plan seeks to correct the abuses.

WEAKNESS OF PRESENT SYSTEM: INELASTIC CURRENCY SYSTEM

Every student of American banking and monetary history knows that one of the fatal weaknesses in our present situation is the inelasticity in our currency system. We need not elaborate on this point. Volumes have already been written condemning this evil. Our present difficulty is this: we have no adequate machinery for increasing and decreasing the amount of currency necessary to meet the requirements of the country's business, especially at different seasons of the year. At present currency can be increased by an issue of national bank notes, but under the present law such notes must be secured by United States government bonds. A bank that is pinched for currency has no surplus money to invest in government bonds. Hence our currency system is too rigid.

In the fall months, for instance, when our crops are being marketed, there is need for an increased supply of currency. But at this very time our banks are "loaned up" and have no surplus money

to invest in bonds to increase their supply of bank notes. Banks that have city deposits call them in. Banks, however, that have no city deposits or banks that cannot secure their deposits, as was the case during the panic of 1907, are unable to secure the currency necessary to move the crops.

It is perfectly clear that our bond-secured currency is an antiquated relic of the Civil War when the United States government used the national banks as a means of marketing its bonds. This form of secured currency bears no relation to the business of the country today. This system does not permit an expansion or contraction of our supply of currency required by the legitimate demands of business. As North Dakota experiences seasonal variations in the demand for currency, the present system hits us hard during money panics or when there is an unusually heavy demand for currency to move the crops.

REMEDY: ELASTIC NOTE ISSUE

How does the new plan propose to remedy this evil? How will the new bill make note issues responsive to the needs of business? The plan proposes that national banks should no longer be allowed the privilege of issuing bank notes. The present bonds outstanding as security for the \$680,000,000 bank notes in circulation will gradually be bought up by the National Reserve Association. The National Reserve Association will issue its own notes in place of present bond-secured notes. In the future, the National Reserve Association will have the exclusive right to issue money (notes) as much or as little as the country needs. To guarantee a safe currency, however, such notes will be secured by a gold reserve equal to 50 per cent of the note issue and, as was shown above, when the reserve falls below this 50 per cent requirement, the Association will pay a tax of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per year for each $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent below the 50 per cent on all the notes outstanding. To illustrate: If the reserve falls to 40 per cent, then the tax will be 6 per cent on all notes outstanding. And when the reserve falls below 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ %, no additional circulating notes may be issued. Further safety is secured by having the notes constitute a first lien upon all the assets of the Reserve Association. Notes to the amount of \$900,000,000 may be issued normally under this plan. Outstanding bank notes at present aggregate about \$700,000,000, so that the proposed plan leaves room for a normal expansion by \$200,000,000. Should there be an emergency demanding further issue, the Reserve Association may issue more notes

provided it is secured by the 50 per cent reserve. In case it is not so secured, it must pay a tax of $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ on all notes over \$900,000,000 and not in excess of \$1,200,000,000. When not properly secured by a 50% gold reserve any issues over \$1,200,000,000 are taxed 5 per cent annually.

This system will give sufficient elasticity without sacrificing safety. Some critics have viewed this elasticity provision with alarm because of its tendency toward undue inflation. European experience teaches us that we need not fear inflation under the new plan. The automatic action of imposing a high tax on all issues above \$900,000,000 when not secured by a 50% gold reserve will tend to keep the issue of notes within reasonable limits.

WEAKNESS: RIGIDITY OF OUR PRESENT SYSTEM

Inadequate as is our present currency system, our defective *credit* machinery is even worse. We are speaking now not of visible money (gold or silver coin, bank notes, etc.) but of capital, as the business man uses the term, especially bank credit. After all, credit is our important medium of exchange. It is conservative to say that from 80 to 90 per cent of all our business is done without the use of money, that is, by credit. The record for a typical business day shows that 98.5 per cent of the New York bank deposits are in checks; in reserve city banks, 96.4 per cent; in cities and towns of less than 25,000, 87 per cent of the deposits are in checks and other credit instruments.

Under our present system credit, like currency, is too rigid and inflexible. At times when legitimate business demands an extension of bank credit, our system breaks down under the strain and prevents expansion. In case of an emergency, as occurred in the Fall of 1907, banks refuse to advance credit to a manufacturer, even tho the latter's business is perfectly solvent. The manufacturer, of course, cuts down his output and curtails credit to the wholesale trade, since the wholesale trade is unable to meet its obligations thru its own inability to secure credit at the bank. In the same manner, the wholesaler tightens up on the retail trade. In this way, our whole industrial and commercial machinery ceases to move. It needs oiling, which our credit system is unable to supply.

We in North Dakota felt the 1907 stringency because our funds, which were on deposit in Twin City banks, could not be obtained when called for. Without this lawful money in our bank vaults,

our loaning power was curtailed. Moreover, we needed actual currency to help move the crops.

Why was there a stringency or money panic in 1907? The country was prosperous, the manufacturer had goods to sell, and orders to fill, the consumer was in the market for commodities. The manufacturer, however, could not secure credit from the bank on his note, secured tho it might be by tangible products, shoes, clothing, etc. The banks were "loaned up." The banks' loaning power was exhausted because it could not secure the required lawful cash reserves necessary for new loans. The New York banks refused to let go the currency, thus crippling the loaning power of all interior banks. Agricultural communities were hit hard because they needed not only new credit, but currency as well, to move the crops. It is apparent that our credit facilities are unreasonably hampered by our present reserve laws.

REMEDY: GENERAL DISCOUNT MARKET

Now let us see how the new plan proposes to remedy this evil. To enable a bank, already loaned up, to further increase its loans, the National Reserve Association will stand ready to rediscount the bank's commercial paper; that is, paper brought to the bank by its customers and secured by visible products. The bank will merely turn over to a branch the commercial paper it has accepted from its consumer and receive credit for that amount at the branch office. This credit becomes at once part of the bank's reserve or a deposit in the National Reserve Association and hence the bank is able to expand its loaning power.

In a word, the National Reserve Association will create a discount market for commercial paper. Any note that is amply secured by actual products,—wheat, shoes, clothing, finished products of any kind,—will be accepted by the local bank because it will be rediscounted by the National Reserve Association, when properly endorsed by the local bank and by the local association as the case demands, as provided for in the bill.

Such discount markets exist in European countries and work admirably. It means that a bank is justified in loaning money (advancing credit) on wheat after it is threshed just as much and more so than it is justified in loaning on seed that is in the ground—that is, on a prospective crop, as is done in our country today. Every bank, small or large, would have this privilege of loaning on such commercial paper with the added assurance that, if it is good

paper and acceptable to the local association, such paper will be rediscounted by the National Reserve Association.

A careful study of sections 26-35 of the bill shows that there are several classes of rediscounting paper: (1) commercial paper that will mature in 28 days, which must be endorsed by the bank rediscounting it; (2) commercial notes and bills having from one to four months to run, which, however, must be guaranteed by the "local association" of which the rediscounting bank is a member; (3) bank paper (direct obligations of the bank) backed by satisfactory securities; (4) drafts and bills of exchange drawn on banks and having not more than four months to run and properly secured; (5) bank acceptances, known as prime bills and having not more than 90 days to run, and (6) foreign bills of exchange.

This at once suggests to the reader the possibility of an inflated credit just as our elastic note issue suggested an inflated currency. Experience in other countries, however, shows that there is no danger from an inflation of our credit so long as only good paper is rediscounted.

WEAKNESS OF PRESENT SYSTEM: FINANCIAL PANICS

No civilized country has been afflicted with so many and so acute money panics as has the United States. Indeed, some monetary students tell us we have a monopoly on this phenomenon. European countries have been comparatively free from money stringencies and credit depressions. Mr. James B. Forgan, President of the First National Bank of Chicago, says: "No other civilized country within the memory of living man has had a panic causing general suspension on the part of its banks while this country has had about a half-dozen." This fact has led many to believe that there is something wrong with our banking system.

When the money panic of 1907 broke out, the country was industrially and commercially sound. But something happened in Wall Street which terrified the depositors all over the country. Many banks suspended specie payments and were forced to resort to clearing house certificates. There was no way open for the North Dakota banks, for instance, to secure necessary money (specie or bank notes) to allay the fear of the distrustful depositors. Their funds were tied up in reserve centers, the Twin Cities, and the banks there in turn had their reserves tied up in Chicago and New York banks and the latter cities refused to let go of their funds. Here we have a money panic not justified by economic conditions. Our monetary

system was at fault somewhere. Our banks were solvent but our banking system was defective. In the panics and crises of 1873, 1893 and 1907, two defects in our system were apparent; an inelastic currency and an inelastic credit which could not be normally expanded in time of stress. Banks were then and are now at the mercy of these reserve city banks and central reserve banks.

REMEDY FOR MONEY PANICS

How does the proposed bill plan to eliminate such money panics? First, by enabling banks to secure money (National Reserve Association notes) thru the rediscounting of good commercial paper. This increased elasticity of currency issue and credit expansion has already been discuss. The bill further aims at concentrating or mobilizing all the bank reserves of the country in one place at Washington, D. C. Such concentrated reserves could be moved readily to points in need of assistance. At the present time each bank holds a little of the reserve and the reserve is consequently scattered. Reserves have a tendency to thin out everywhere except in reserve cities and central reserve cities, especially in New York. But the funds in New York are used unfortunately for speculative purposes on Wall Street and, hence, in times of trouble, as in 1907, the New York banks are either unable or refuse to remit these reserves to interior banks. We had no way of forcing them to return our reserves. In 1907 we had over one billion dollars in gold reserve, whereas, England, had but \$150,000,000. England was so safe and undisturbed by our money panic that she helped us by sending us some of her gold. We have plenty of gold reserves but they are not used to good advantage under our present system. The new plan, as was said previously, provides that all national banks will keep their entire reserves at the National Reserve Association at Washington. Individual banks will need to keep only such specie and other currency as is needed for general convenience in daily transactions. A bank can readily transfer accounts from one branch to another. In addition to the above provisions, the National Reserve Association will have power to attract gold from foreign countries by means of its discount rate. This method is commonly and effectively used by European countries for replenishing their gold supply.

Under our present system, our bank reserves as well as our surplus idle funds are sent to New York where their use is concentrated in the hands of a few groups of banks. These funds, which are sent to New York to earn 2 per cent, must of course be put into

productive use and they are usually loaned as call money or to buy short time paper. Our present system, therefore, encourages stock-market speculation since New York banks are forced or are tempted to employ their deposits (including bank deposits and reserves) to good advantage. Wall Street affords a ready market for such funds.

The new plan aims at *concentrating* and *mobilizing* our reserves, but not in the hands of a few New York banks, where it is played with recklessly, but where it will be controlled by the National Reserve Association. There it will be impossible to use the reserve in stock speculative enterprises. In a word, our gold reserve will be mobilized in such a way as to render the best service to all the banks.

Summary: The bill, therefore, provides four reforms or measures which are calculated to prevent money panics: (1) by providing for an elastic note issue; (2) by creating machinery for the expansion of legitimate commercial credit; (3) by the modification of our reserve laws tending to their concentration of reserves not controlled by private individuals or private banks but by the co-operative National Reserve Association, and (4) by the employment of the discount rate in foreign exchange to attract gold from other countries. European countries use all four of these methods and they are comparatively free from money panics such as we had in 1907.

WALL STREET CONTROL

A prominent North Dakota banker said to the writer: "The Aldrich bill will play into the hands of Morgan." When asked for his reason, he replied: "Can any good come out of Aldrich?" The newspapers report James J. Hill as saying that new plan will lead to a Wall Street control of our banking system. There is a general suspicion in the minds of men, bankers included, that the Aldrich plan contains a "joker" but no one has yet located the nigger in the wood pile.

A careful reading of the Aldrich plan does not reveal any provision that directly or indirectly seems likely to favor the eastern bankers or Wall Street. That is to say, if the plan of organization were faithfully executed in every degree, North Dakota banks would not be made any more dependent upon the Wall Street group than they are at present. For it must not be forgotten in this discussion that there is an implied admission in the arguments of most critics that our interior banks are more or less subservient today to the larger city banks and to the Wall Street group in particular. Senator Aldrich himself says:

"Today the financial interests of the whole country depend, in times of trouble, upon what is popularly known as Wall Street. Those who express fears of the future domination of Wall Street seem to lose sight of the fact that *the domination of New York is an accomplished fact.*"¹⁴

If any individual or group of individuals desired to secure control of the National Reserve Association it would be necessary to buy a controlling stock interest in more than one-half of all the banks belonging to the organization. For it must be borne in mind that *one bank has but one vote* in electing at least three-fifths of the directors of the local associations, whose representatives in turn democratically elect the directors of the branches and the branches in turn elect the directors of the head association. To secure this stock interest in one-half of all the banks, Wall Street would be obliged to invest a tremendous amount of capital, the return on which would not be large enough to justify the investment.

Moreover, the bill provides (section 7) that when 40 per cent of the stock of two or more banks is controlled by any single individual or corporation, such banks would be entitled to only one vote acting together; that is, in such cases the banks do not vote as units. This would prevent any strong bank or banks in Fargo or Grand Forks from controlling the local association in North Dakota. The eastern states with their 41 per cent of the bank resources of the country would have but 15 per cent of the representatives on the board of control; the Western and Pacific states with 12 per cent of the bank resources would enjoy a 23 per cent control.

What could Wall Street do with the National Reserve Association if it did get control—either thru purchase of sufficient stock or thru intimidation? It would control the cash resources of the country but it does that now. On the other hand, it could not use this money to invest in or loan on stocks or bonds as they do at present. The National Reserve Association—or Wall Street—could only loan money on commercial paper. It would do no good to control the interest rates on such paper for the purpose of declaring large dividends on their stock for section 19 of the bill says that all profits above 4 per cent on the stock shall be turned over to the United States government. It can not be made a profit making scheme directly.

14. Cf. Report of National Monetary Commission, Senate Document No. 243, p. 72.

On the other hand, the directors of the National Reserve Association would possess a tremendous power in that they would decide what commercial paper would be rediscounted and which would not. They could also discriminate against any class of paper by raising the rate of discount, for the law does not call for uniform rates of discount on all paper. Consequently, those in control of the association might favor one group of industries or some particular class of investors at the expense of other industries and other investors. This is done now by the Wall Street group of banks. It was done in 1907 and is said to be directly responsible for the failure of the Knickerbocker Trust Company and the Westinghouse Electric Company—both solvent firms at the time of the panic. Perhaps the same sort of discrimination might be used on a broader and more dangerous scale if Wall Street did secure control of the Association.

While the Aldrich bill does not aim at the destruction of the so-called money trust, it does not seem to play in the latter's hands.

PART III. HOW THE ALDRICH PLAN WOULD AFFECT NORTH DAKOTA

NORTH DAKOTA AN AGRICULTURAL STATE

The average country banker is always more or less suspicious of the city banker. As the Aldrich bill bears the name of an unpopular easterner, who is generally believed to be working in the interest of a group of eastern capitalists, it is not unnatural that North Dakota bankers should approach this proposed legislation with considerable timidity and suspicion. It will be well for the rural banker, however, to dispossess himself of this native prejudice and withhold judgment until he has made a careful and conscientious examination of the bill.

Before we discuss the application of the new plan to North Dakota let us survey briefly the economic life of our commonwealth. About 89 per cent of our population is distinctly "rural," only 11 per cent living in towns having a population of 2500 or more.¹⁵ Our state is sparsely settled; our density is only 8.2 per square mile as compared with 30.9 for the whole country.¹⁶ Only 45 per cent of our total land area and 72 per cent of our farm land is improved. The average farm, in 1910, was 382 acres of which 275 acres was reported improved. Our state is most markedly agricultural; our

15. Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Bulletin, Population: North Dakota, P. 4.

16. *Idem*, P. 3.

farm crops are worth annually about \$200,000,000 while our manufactures are valued yearly at only \$19,380,000.¹⁷

Ours is a new state. The demand for capital for farm improvements is consequently greater than it is in older communities. Our farmers want money for investment purposes. This means long-time loans. Another characteristic aspect of our economic life is the fact that we depend largely on a single crop—wheat—for returns. Farmers are therefore frequently forced to borrow funds to tide them over until the next crop is harvested. In a region where mixed farming is more generally practiced, the farmer has a more continuous source of income. Moreover, our crops are thrown on the market during the fall months and call for large amounts of currency to move the crops to the market. Pressure for currency and capital is congested within a few months. With these facts before us, regarding the economic status of North Dakota, let us see how the Aldrich bill would affect our interests.

COMMERCIAL PAPER

We must bear in mind the fact that the Aldrich bill deals almost exclusively with *commercial* banking and only slightly with *investment* banking. This difference is fundamental, an understanding of which is essential to a fair appreciation of the bill. The bill creates special devices for rediscounting notes known as commercial paper, paper arising out of commercial transactions and secured by actual industrial, commercial or agricultural products.

At present very little commercial paper exists in North Dakota. In the larger towns, like Fargo and Grand Forks, Devils Lake and Minot, where wholesale houses are located, some commercial transactions naturally arise in the course of business. Our wholesale houses, however, are largely financed by the parent corporation of which the North Dakota houses are only branches. Firms that operate a chain of houses borrow in the larger eastern cities like Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth. North Dakota banks are not called upon to any very large extent for funds to finance these large wholesale enterprises. The same is true of the vast majority of grain elevators which are branches of larger line elevator concerns. The latter borrow their funds from institutions outside the state. Hardware and implement dealers are financed heavily by the International Harvester Company which of course is independent of North Dakota

17. This \$200,000,000 includes the value of cattle, poultry, eggs and dairy products. Cf. 13th Census of the United States, Agriculture: North Dakota. See also Report of Commissioner of Agriculture of North Dakota. The value of our manufactures is based on the 13th Census of the United States, Manufactures: United States, P. 10.

in the financing of its vast enterprise. Retail stores have no trouble in securing a legitimate amount of credit at the local bank. Wholesale rivalry between towns has a tendency to encourage the local banks to expand rather than to contract credit granted to the retailer.

Likewise the individual farmer who has grain to sell finds no trouble in raising money on his crop. Elevator companies and commission firms are always ready to pay cash for grain. Should the farmer desire to hold the grain for future delivery he is able to borrow from the local bank on grain stored in elevator or he can secure cash from a commission broker in advance of sale. Local banks will always accept a farmer's note secured by a bill of lading.

The ordinary accommodation on short-time loans is rarely refused a farmer, especially when the latter is willing to give a chattel mortgage. While the rates on these short-time small loans are high, ranging from 8 to 12 per cent, the borrower does not complain because the total interest is small.

Is there any likelihood that North Dakota will ever have any considerable amount of commercial paper? There are some indications in this direction. Farmers' elevators and independent elevators are growing in number. There is a marked decrease in the number of line elevators and an increase in the number of farmers' elevators in the Northwest in recent years. Farmers' elevators and independent lines are financed at present by commission firms at Duluth and Minneapolis to whom they consign their grain. This financial dependence makes it necessary for them to sell their grain to these commission houses. The creation of a discount market for commercial paper may render local elevator concerns financially independent. The farmers' elevators will be in a position to raise money on grain paper on equal terms with old line elevator companies. Local banks will accept their paper, secured by grain, since it can be rediscounted at the branch of the National Reserve Association. This financial independence will enable the North Dakota elevator companies to sell their grain on the best terms. They will be in a position to hold out for higher prices. This will aid the farmer, for higher prices for the elevator companies means better prices for the farmer.

In another way, commercial paper is likely to increase in North Dakota. Mixed farming is coming to be practiced more extensively. This will mean more cattle and more diversified crops and as a result there will be a greater demand for short time loans on commercial paper.

It is not unlikely that manufactures will multiply in North Dakota. Her lignite, gas, and clay may lead to the establishment of factories. These new industries will create commercial paper, and to the extent that money can be raised on such paper there will be a more rapid development of our natural resources.

Our wholesale and retail trade is also bound to increase with the natural settling up of the state. This again means the creation of commercial paper.

The Aldrich bill aims essentially to reform our methods of commercial banking. So far as North Dakota is concerned this specific reform will not directly and immediately aid North Dakota. Very little commercial paper finds its way into the banks. Looking to the future, however, which promises an increase in the number of farmers' co-operative elevators, co-operative creameries, the development of mixed farming, the growth of wholesale and retail trade and an expansion of manufactures, North Dakota will find itself more and more in need of a general discount market for commercial paper such as is created by the Aldrich bill. This feature of the new plan surely cannot injure our interests and may do us some good.

LOANS ON REAL ESTATE

The big demand for capital in North Dakota comes at present from the farmer who seeks a large loan to enable him to make permanent improvements on his farm or to take up new land. This is investment banking. These loans range from \$500 to \$5000 and run from five to ten years. These long-time loans are secured by real estate, including land, improved or unimproved, farm buildings and machinery. Interest on such loans varies according to the location of the farm and the reputation of the farmer. In the Red River Valley, the oldest settlement in the state, loans are being made today for $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to 8 per cent on first mortgages. In the newer parts of the state interest rates vary from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 12 per cent. Many loans are being made at 8 per cent in the newer sections of the state, near the Montana line.

What does the Aldrich plan offer North Dakota in the way of increasing the farmer's opportunity to secure long-time loans, that is investment loans? Section 40 of the bill provides that national banks may loan on real estate mortgages to an extent not exceeding 30 per cent of their time deposits. Under our present laws national banks are not permitted to invest in real estate. Friends of the bill

have pointed to this provision as one that will confer a benefit upon agricultural states. How will it affect North Dakota?

This provision confers only a gratuitous advantage. The total deposits of our national banks in North Dakota are about \$30,000,000, of which from \$8,000,000 to \$10,000,000 are time deposits and under the new bill one-third of this may be invested in real estate. As a matter of fact national banks today loan on real estate mortgages to a very large extent, tho contrary to law. National banks evade the law in two ways: either by loaning on a farmer's personal note, accepting real estate mortgages as security, or by organizing real estate loan companies. Therefore, only those national banks which are now obeying the letter and spirit of the law would profit by this provision of the bill.

This provision permitting loans on real estate mortgages will not affect our state banks unless the state law is amended to grant the same privilege to them. Our state banks at present are permitted to loan on real estate mortgages up to 50 per cent of ther capital and surplus. The capital and surplus of 514 state banks on March 29, 1910, was \$8,329,941.64, allowing an investment on real estate mortgages of \$4,164,970.82. If they were allowed to loan on the basis of time deposits as provided in the new bill, these same banks could have loaned \$5,350,189, that is, 30 per cent of their time deposits (\$17,833,963.63). So that the state banks might have increased their loans on this class of property over \$1,000,000—provided, of course, the state banks were obeying the law and also provided that the privilege extended to national banks would be extended to state banks by the state law. Our conclusion is, therefore, that little or nothing would be gained from this provision of the bill permitting banks to loan on real estate up to 30 per cent of their deposits.

INVESTMENT OF SURPLUS FUNDS

In our discussion thus far, we have tested the bill by mesuring the service it would render to North Dakota as a borrower of funds. We shall now consider North Dakota as a lender, as being in the market with money to invest and see if the new bill has anything to commend itself to us in this particular.

North Dakota is peculiar in this respect that while it is usually in the market seeking funds for long time farm investments, there are seasons of the year when our banks have a surplus of money. In the fall of the year when our crops are marketed, our bank deposits

increase and run high until January or February and often up to seeding time in Spring. During these winter months our banks have no home market for safe investment in short time loans. Banks cannot tie up these funds in long time investments because the farmers (depositors) will call for their money to carry on farming operations in the spring, summer and early fall and for crop-moving purposes. In the absence of any local market for such funds, our banks are forced to place this money in city banks where it is subject to immediate call. City banks pay 2 per cent interest on such deposits.

On November 16, 1909, our state banks had on deposit with city banks \$6,459,661, not including money counted as part of the legal reserve. Our national banks had \$5,575,938 on deposit with city banks. This does not include lawful reserves. It is merely the surplus funds which the banks could not invest at home and which they, therefore, sent to city banks to earn 2 per cent. The general discount market created by the new plan will offer a market for such surplus funds at higher rates of interest than is now paid by city banks on such deposits. Our banks will be able to buy short time paper maturing at such times as the money is needed.

This discount market would save North Dakota banks a considerable sum annually. On November 16, 1909, the total surplus in excess of reserve requirements on deposit with city banks was \$12,065,599. The interest on this at 2 per cent for 6 months was \$120,000. Assuming that commercial paper thru the National Reserve Association would pay 5 per cent the interest would be about \$300,000, or a saving of \$180,000.

As a matter of fact, some North Dakota banks do now invest their surplus money by purchasing commercial paper thru their correspondent city banks. This is fraught with danger since our banks have no way of ascertaining the real soundness or value of such commercial paper. Our banks must be guided solely by the advice of their correspondents. In the case of the Pillsbury and the North Star Shoe Co. failures and in the failure of several elevator companies in recent years, North Dakota banks suffered losses as holders of their paper. Paper purchased thru the National Reserve Association will be absolutely safe since the paper will be endorsed by other banks and in some cases by a whole group of banks, the local association. The bill would therefore be serviceable to North Dakota banks in creating the machinery for the safe and profitable employment of surplus funds.

LEGAL RESERVES

Under our present law, national banks are compelled to keep a 15 per cent reserve on all its deposits, time deposits as well as demand deposits. On September 1, 1910, 194 national banks had on deposit \$29,000,000. Of this, about \$9,000,000 were time deposits. The new bill (section 39) provides that no reserves need be maintained on these time deposits. This would set free \$1,350,000. According to law, \$810,000 (3-5) was kept on deposit with reserve banks where it earned only 2 per cent. This \$810,000 at 2 per cent earned only

Under our present law, national banks in North Dakota are compelled to keep a 15 per cent reserve on all its deposits, time deposits as well as demand deposits. On September 1, 1910, 149 national banks had on deposit \$29,000,000. Of this, about \$9,000,000 were time deposits. The new bill (section 39) provides that no reserves need be maintained on these time deposits. This would set free \$1,350,000. According to law, \$810,000 (or three-fifths) was kept on deposit with reserve banks where it earned only 2 per cent. This \$810,000 at 2 per cent earned only \$16,200; if invested in first class commercial paper, it would earn 5 per cent or \$40,500. The banks would gain, therefore, \$24,300 by not being required to carry reserves on time deposits. This slight gain, however, would be offset by a loss of interest on reserves for demand deposits. For the new bill requires that all reserves must be kept on deposit with the National Reserve Association which pays no interest. On September 1, 1910, this would have meant that the \$3,000,000 reserves on demand deposits would have earned no interest. As it was, three-fifths or \$1,800,000 was on deposit with reserve agents earning 2 per cent or \$36,000. So that the slight gain which would come to banks by not carrying reserves on time deposits would be more than offset by the loss on demand deposits.

MOVING THE CROPS

In the marketing of our grain crops, special demands are made upon our banks. We shall examine the new banking bill, therefore, with a view to ascertaining how it will aid in financing the crop movement. Does the new bill provide any machinery which might facilitate the financing of the crop under ordinary conditions and will it render any special assistance in times of stringencies and panics?

Our crop movement calls for an increase in the supply of currency and credit. We shall discuss briefly both factors in relation

to the proposed plan. Our banks are called upon to supply farmers with cash to pay off their farm help. Then, too, as the farmers sell their grain and deposit their proceeds in the bank, the banks are forced to increase their cash reserve according to law. There are other demands in the fall for currency but these are our chief needs, to pay farm help and to increase cash reserve. Even where farmers pay by check, the banks are called upon to supply currency since the farm hands soon cash their checks. A fair estimate of the amount of actual currency needed to move our crops is about \$25,000,000.

Where do our banks secure the necessary cash? As the crop begins to mature and during the season when the crop is being sold, our banks are calling upon their city banks for currency. Fargo, Grand Forks, Minneapolis and St. Paul supply the interior banks with the needed currency. The Twin City banks alone ship to us about \$20,000,000 currency (bank notes, gold and silver certificates) during the fall months. Before the crop is marketed, our banks secure this currency by withdrawing deposits placed with the city banks during the previous winter months. After our crop begins to move and grain is being sold to elevators, our banks are increasing their deposits daily with Twin City banks thru drafts drawn against the elevator companies.

The point is that we need annually about \$25,000,000 currency. Now if for any reason the Twin City banks find themselves in a position where they are unable to send us currency, as was the case in 1907, then we suffer all sorts of inconvenience and often are in danger of a run on our banks.

What remedy does the new plan offer in such an emergency? The Twin City banks as well as our banks could always secure currency from the National Reserve Association by drawing against their accounts there, if they have any. If they have no deposit account with the National Reserve Association, they can easily create one during the crop-moving season by rediscounting grain paper. If, for instance, a Grand Forks bank needs currency in an emergency, it can accept the note of a farmer secured by grain in an elevator, and send this commercial paper on to the branch of the National Reserve Association at Minneapolis and establish an account there and in return would get currency if it wished any. The National Reserve Association is not limited in the amount of currency (notes) it may issue, as was explained above.¹⁸

18. Cf. pp. 144-145, 146-147.

Moreover, this currency would be shipped to our banks without transportation charges. Our banks pay all the way from 40 cents to \$1 per \$1000 for currency when shipped in from Minneapolis. The rate varies with the distance and character of transportation route. This cost of transferring currency (\$10,000 to \$20,000) would be saved by our banks yearly.

A crop movement also requires extra bank credit. Unless the elevator companies or commission firms can secure credit from their banks, they are unable to buy and pay for our grain. Under our present system it is often difficult to secure bank credit except at very high rates. During panics elevator companies can not secure capital to buy such commodities as grain even tho European and American consumers stand in need of this necessity of life. The new plan makes it possible for anyone to go to a bank and borrow funds so long as there are visible marketable products somewhere to secure the loan. The Aldrich plan provides, therefore, that so long as there is a demand for our wheat, our farmers will always find ready buyers and buyers able to pay spot cash for the wheat.

It seems to us that the proposed bill does provide the machinery necessary to facilitate the marketing of our crop with the least possible friction and is a decided improvement over our present system.

BANK CAPITALIZATION

The proposed plan has been criticized on the ground that small state banks would not be able to avail themselves of the privileges of the new organization. As North Dakota is a state of small banks, let us inquire into this matter. The bill provides that all participating banks must have a paid-up and unimpaired capital equal to the capital required of national banks in that locality.¹⁹

Assuming that our banks desired to enter the association, what change in bank capitalization would be needed? National banks, of course, would not be affected. The average state bank, however, had, in 1910, a capitalization of only \$13,663. Since the minimum capitalization of national banks, according to law, is \$25,000, our state banks would have to double their capital stock.²⁰ On March 29, 1910, the total capitalization of 514 state banks was \$7,022,800; under the new bill their capitalization would be \$12,850,000, in case

19. Cf. Section 3 of bill.

20. Under the national banking law, in towns having a population of 3000 or less, banks must have a capital of \$25,000; in towns of 3,000 to 6,000 the capitalization must be \$50,000; in towns of from 6,000 to 50,000 the capitalization must be \$100,000; in towns of 50,000 plus, the capitalization must be \$200,000.

all desired membership in the new organization. The successful operation of the new plan depends upon the state banks quite as much as upon the national banks. The deposits of the state banks in North Dakota on November 16, 1909, were \$41,735,762.03; the deposits of national banks were only \$31,165,652.98. This relative importance of state banks is true for the country as a whole, state banks holding (June 30, 1910) \$10,321,000,000 deposits and national banks holding only \$7,257,000,000 deposits.

According to the new plan, local associations can be organized by ten banks or more having a combined capital and surplus of at least \$5,000,000.²¹ The total capital and surplus of our 149 national banks and 514 state banks in 1910 was only \$15,113,785. North Dakota could have at most, therefore, only two or three local associations. As a matter of fact, not more than one-half of the banks would find it necessary or would care to enter the association. We would very likely have but one local association.

This provision of the bill, to the extent that it would compel state banks to increase their capital stock, might force some small banks out of business. The immediate effect of this would be a diversion of capital out of the banking business. On the other hand, if all the small banks desired to remain in business and enter the association there would be a diversion of capital into the banking business. Or, what seems more likely, there would be a tendency toward consolidation of small banks into institutions controlling larger amounts of capital.

CONCLUSION

Viewing the Aldrich bill solely and narrowly from the standpoint of North Dakota interests, the writer is unable to see how the proposed plan can injure either the farmer or the banker. On the other hand there is much to be gained from the new plan: first, the creation of a rediscount market for commercial paper will be of increasing benefit as this class of paper multiplies in the future in our state; secondly, the bill legalizes the present illegal practice of National banks loaning money on real estate; thirdly, the bill opens up new avenues for the profitable and safe investment of surplus funds; and lastly the bill will aid in the financing of our crops.

But, furthermore, North Dakota cannot view this or any other plan as an isolated state. Our interests are tied up with our country's interests. If the prosperity and stability of our institutions need a

21. Section 4 of bill.

new banking and currency system, then North Dakota needs that reform as well. We need the rest of the country as much as it needs us. When a panic hits the east we feel it in North Dakota. The new plan proposes to eliminate at least this evil, financial panics. This service alone ought to commend the bill to us, provided of course it carries with it no offsetting harmful effects.

Some critics, while admitting that the bill has in it many good features for the industrial and commercial sections, maintain that there ought to be included in it a reform of *investment* banking for the benefit of the farmer. The Aldrich plan does stop short, all will admit, but its advocates claim that it logically cannot be made to embrace two entirely distinct types of banking. We believe some added legislation, of benefit to the farmer, will come as a result of the extensive investigations conducted by the Monetary Commission and the propaganda carried on in behalf of the Aldrich bill. There is no question but that our farming communities are seriously handicapped by the lack of better money-lending facilities. Our farmers would do well to study the European methods of loaning money on farm mortgages at low rates of interest ranging from three to five per cent, as compared with seven to ten per cent, the prevailing rates in our own country. Co-operative credit associations have worked admirably in European countries. President Taft, in his recent message to Congress, recommended the adoption of an agricultural credit system.

It is beyond our task to discuss this important phase of agricultural banking reform. Our purpose has been to show the merits of the bill commonly known as the Aldrich plan. It is not likely that this bill will be adopted in its entirety. Its main features, however, which we believe to be sound, will persist and will doubtless be embodied in a new bill or bills introduced in Congress in the near future.²² These new banking and currency features cannot harm and are likely to benefit not only the country at large but the agricultural communities as well.

22. Since this went to press Senator Borah has introduced a bill (Dec. 3, 1912) "to establish a complete financial and banking system for the United States of America." --S. 7506. This bill contains many essential features of the Aldrich plan.

Canada's Combines Investigation Act

A Lesson for the United States

JAMES E. BOYLE,

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University of North Dakota

“WHEN six or more persons, British subjects resident in Canada and of full age, are of opinion that a combine exists, or that prices have been enhanced or competition restricted by reason of such combine, to the detriment of consumers or producers, such persons may make application to a judge for an order directing an investigation into such alleged combine.”

Thus reads the Canadian Combines Investigation Act of May 4, 1910.

“Every contract or combination * * * in restraint of trade is hereby declared to be illegal. Every person who shall make any such contract or engage in any such combination * * * shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and * * * shall be punished by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments * * * . Every person who shall monopolize or attempt to monopolize * * * trade * * * shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, * * * and shall be punished by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments * * * .”

Thus saith our Sherman Anti-Trust Law of July 2, 1890.

Thus the two great countries attack the trust problem.

The *Thou Shalt Nots* of the Sherman Law were thundered from Capitol Hill over twenty years ago, amid plenty of smoke and thunder. The Maryland Fathers of 1776 wrote in their state constitution, “Monopolies are odious, contrary to the spirit of free government, and the principles of commerce, and ought not to be suffered.” This belated 18th century philosophy is handed down in our Sherman law, and all monopolies are considered “odious” and “insufferable.”

The Combines Investigation Act of Canada contains no prohibitions of any kind. It accepts the economic philosophy of the 20th century, and suffers monopolies to dwell in peace, as long as the monopolistic benefits are distributed fairly.

Compare for a moment industrial conditions in these two countries. Then observe the remedies applied and the results accomplished in each.

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS HERE AND IN CANADA

In the terse language of our great democrat, it is condition and not theory that confronts both countries. A few years ago most business was competitive. Now it is not. This is the day of the billion-dollar steel trust, the International Harvester trust, the "dissolved" Tobacco trust, the Lumber trust, the Sugar trust, the "dissolved" Standard Oil trust, and all other giant industrials. And now we see the Brewers entering the retail trade by establishing and maintaining saloons; and the Tobacco trust, thru its chain of United Cigar Stores, is likewise reaching into the field of retail trade. Integration is apparent in the industrials. In transportation five railroad-groups now dominate the field. In communication we have the Bell telephone and the Western Union Telegraph Company occupying the field, and now united. In banking one New York syndicate representing four firms, has now come into control of financial institutions whose deposits exceed one billion dollars. Our industries are obviously pretty well combined. Whatever our law may say about monopoly and competition, we have monopoly. The situation is the same across the international boundary line. Within the last twenty years great combinations have been formed in Canada, similar in all respects to our own and indeed in many cases, mere subsidiary concerns of our own great corporations.

We have the same conditions, but we are trying different remedies.

THE UNITED STATES REMEDY

PROHIBITION AND REGULATION

A very brief statement of our attempted remedies will serve to make the Canadian law better understood.

Since both countries have the same common law holding oppression by monopoly to be illegal, this can be passed over without comment. And let us omit too the Interstate Commerce Commission, since this corresponds to the Railway Commission of Canada. There remains then three separate and distinct attempts in the United States to deal with the so-called trust problem. These are, of course, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, the Elkins Act, and the Bureau of Corporations Act. Two of these are negative, repressive steps; one is positive, constructive.

The Sherman law is a criminal statute making all restraints of inter-state trade a crime and all monopoly a crime. This law says, in substance, "Thou shall compete." This law could never be enforced, and most assuredly should never be enforced. If by any possibility it were enforced, it would destroy at one stroke the great labor unions and nine-tenths of the present business of the United States. For competition is self-annihilating over most of our industrial field; monopoly is inevitable and is likewise desirable. One state, Wisconsin, now forbids competition in certain industries. Monopoly is obviously desirable, that is, if its unquestioned economies and benefits are diffused to those who deal with it, consumers as well as producers. Under our Sherman law every known combine in the United States today has been formed; clearly then this law has not been effective.

The recent Standard Oil decision (May, 1911) has not been reassuring to the general public, whose interests the Sherman law is supposed to safeguard. The opinion of the court is perplexing to the general mass of the people, for it seems to mean, taken in connection with the Trans-Missouri Freight Association case: "All restraints of trade are criminal. Some crimes are, however, reasonable. Only unreasonable crimes are forbidden by the Sherman law."

The Elkins Anti-Rebate law of 1903 can be passed over with few words. Since those who enjoy rebates are the only ones in possession of the evidence necessary for conviction, this criminal statute is and must remain a dead letter.

Not till we come to the Bureau of Corporations law of 1903 do we find a positive, constructive step taken to control corporations. The body of specially trained experts constituting the Bureau of Corporations depends on the sound principle of "efficient publicity." A few thoro investigations have already been made and the findings published, and note the results. The railway rebate evil was abolished in toto in six months' time, following the 1906 report of the Bureau on this subject. The abuses of the New Orleans cotton exchange were wiped out, voluntarily, by those on the inside, when the searchlight of informed public opinion was turned on, following the Bureau's 1908 and 1909 exhaustive report on this institution. The Bureau now has on hand, as work still pending, investigations into the steel, tobacco, and lumber industries, transportation by water, the International Harvester Company, concentration of water power ownership, and corporate taxation.

The Bureau of Corporations in the limited field in which it operates has been a success; it has achieved results; it has pointed out

the line of true progress—efficient publicity. It should have its powers extended and its field enlarged. The two repressive statutes have been a failure; their criminal penalties have been of no avail. Our experience in the past points to the soundness of the principle of ascertaining and publishing the facts and of focussing public opinion on the facts. By seizing on this sound principle of publicity the Canadians have succeeded in framing a law adequate to the situation, a law extending this principle to all combines, monopolies, trusts, and mergers that injure consumer or producer.

CANADA'S REMEDY

The Canadian Combines Investigation Act can be briefly stated. Any six persons can have any combine in the Dominion investigated at public expense at any time. And if the combine, thru abuse of its privileges, is injuring producer or consumer by means of high prices or unfair competition, a remedy to fit the case can be applied without delay. The procedure is simple, swift, and free from technicalities. The six persons who are of opinion that a detrimental combine exists make a formal written application to a judge for an investigation. Of course, the application must contain more than vague generalities; it must specifically set forth the nature of the alleged combine and the names of the persons believed to be concerned therein; the manner in which the alleged combine is operating to the detriment of consumers or producers; and, lastly, the names and addresses of the applicants themselves and the person whom they authorize to act as their representative. The judge at once arranges for an informal hearing. He may or may not—as he sees fit—admit representatives of the combine at this preliminary hearing. If he is satisfied that a *prima facie* case has been made out by the applicants, he so notifies the Minister of Labor, and this Minister “shall forthwith proceed to appoint a Board.” Then follows the appointment of a fair and square Board of Investigation of three members, one representing the applicants, one representing the combine, and the third member, the chairman of the Board, a judge, appointed by these two, or by the Minister himself. The scope of the investigation is wide. “The board,” says the act, “shall expeditiously, fully, and carefully inquire into the matters referred to it and all matters affecting the merits thereof * * * . In deciding any question that may affect the scope or extent of the investigation, the Board shall consider what is required to make the investigation as thorough and complete as the public interest demands.” Counsel may be employed by the govern-

ment to represent the public's interests. In fact, every provision has apparently been made to get all the real facts of the case.

The investigation goes to the bottom. It is fair to both sides. In case a detrimental combine is discovered, six distinct remedies are at hand. (1) Publicity, and fear of publicity is doubtless the strongest remedy. The findings are published in the *Canada Gazette*, as well as in newspapers throughout the country. The pressure of informed public opinion is irresistible. (2) The tariff may be reduced or revoked, if the combine unduly enhancing the prices of its products enjoys tariff protection. This is effected by an order of the Governor in Council. (3) Patents may be cancelled, if the combine is unduly enhancing price or restricting competition thru its patent rights. This is effected thru an order of the court. (4) If the Board finds any person guilty of practices hurtful to producer or consumer, and the person continues so to offend after the Board publishes its findings, he is liable to a fine of one thousand dollars a day and costs, as long as he continues the offense. The findings of the Board may serve as a basis for effecting other remedies (under other statutes), namely, (5) a cancellation of licenses under the *Inland Revenue Act*, where manufacturers holding the same have sold their goods under a monopolistic form of contract, and, lastly, (6) a withdrawal of subsidies, in case of alleged combines in shipping or transportation. And subsidies are plentiful here. Evidently an appropriate remedy can be selected to fit any evil of combine, monopoly, trust, or merger.

THE REMEDY APPLIED

In theory the act is sound. In practice it has worked. Enacted May 4, 1910, it soon attracted the attention of the people. Soon general complaints were heard about four combines, coal, cement, bread, and shoe machinery. But only one case the first year actually reached the point of definite, specific charges, and so got before the Board. This was the noted case of the *United Shoe Machinery Co.*, a subsidiary concern of a powerful American corporation of the same name.

This corporation enjoys patents on important machines indispensable in the manufacture of shoes. These machines are not generally sold, but are leased on strict terms to the manufacturers of shoes. Not only the price paid, but also the terms of the lease were complained of as grievous and burdensome to the manufacturers. The Canadians first fought this corporation in their courts, but lost, after carrying the suit to the Privy Council in London. The Law Lords held the leases legal, but

suggested a legislative remedy as appropriate. Forthwith the Canadians enacted the Combines Investigation Act. Then persons in Quebec at once made application for an investigation of the United Shoe Machinery Co., and the judge, after hearing the applicants (but not the corporation's side) directed that the investigation take place. Minister of Labor, King, ordered the investigation to be made "expeditiously."

Then the corporation lawyers began their work of obstructing the operation of the law by taking advantage of every possible legal technicality. It is perhaps best that the law had this ordeal of fire to pass thru at its very initial application. The test proved it sound. The corporation set up the claims of "insufficiency of the application," "irregular procedure," and "no jurisdiction." These were all promptly overruled by the higher court. The Board was formed, consisting of an editor, a lawyer, and a judge. Then the corporation secured a "writ of prohibition," halting the procedure pending the appeal. It took three months to carry this question of appeal up thru the Canadian courts to the Throne of England. But the Privy Council this time sided with the Canadian people and refused to allow an appeal from the Canadian decisions favoring an investigation. This left the Minister of Labor free to proceed at once with the investigation.

The investigation went forward, extending from November 17, 1911, to October 18, 1912. Fifty-nine witnesses were examined. The investigation proved to be a veritable education on the trust question for the general public. The following facts were brought to light: The United Shoe Machinery Co. had as its customers 138 out of the 145 shoe manufacturers of Canada. Some of the shoe machinery was sold outright but most was leased and "tied" to other machinery by the terms of the lease in such a manner as to give to the United Shoe Machinery Co. exclusive patronage. Twenty years was the usual term of lease. The royalty ranged from a few cents to seven cents per pair of shoes turned out.

The causes of the monopoly, so the Board discovered, were these: patents; good quality of machines; efficiency of company in keeping machines in repair; fair and equal treatment of all manufacturers; sufficient capital to carry out the contracts fully and promptly.

The causes of the monopoly were more evident than its evil effects. Competition was practically gone in the buying and selling of shoe manufacturing machinery. The royalties were too low to hurt manufacturers or consumers. The price had not been raised

"unduly." No rebates were discovered, no predatory competition. It seemed a clear case where efficient competitors had banished competition and held the field alone.

But at any rate, the company was a "combine," for it was composed of three united companies. And its lease system, so the Board held, had unduly restricted and prevented competition in the manufacture, production, purchase, sale and supply of shoe machinery in Canada.

A delay of six months, however, was recommended to the company in order that it might cease "unduly" to restrict competition.

In other words, all the benefits as well as the questionable leasing system of the combine have been put fairly and squarely before the public. No victims of oppression have been revealed. A breathing spell of six months is now given. At the expiration of this time a final solution will have been worked out, soberly and constructively, for the only feature of the combine that has any potentiality of evil, namely, its exclusive leasing system. Meanwhile, the people are resting easy, because they know their interests are actually being safeguarded.

What is the lesson for us in the Canadian Combines Investigation Act? The first lesson is the soundness of the principle of efficient publicity. The second lesson is that this principle should be applied expeditiously and thoroly. It can be done thru a special Board for each individual case, as in Canada, or by some permanent body of experts, such as our Bureau of Corporations, with properly enlarged powers. At any rate the time has now come when public impatience with existing statutes and court rulings must be heeded. Some sort of an administrative body must be provided to reassure the public and give them confidence that their interests are in some way being protected. And certainty of investigation and exposure, according to the Canadian fashion, would deter almost every combine from attempting oppression.

Partisan Scholarship

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IN OUR present period of political unrest there have appeared from time to time a considerable number of works dealing with current questions, not dispassionately or impartially, but in a spirit of partisanship. One of the characteristics of such productions is the very evident intention on the part of the authors to demonstrate a given thesis the truth of which they have themselves been led to believe by personal experience or by a chain of reasoning peculiarly their own. Having thus, as they think, fully prepared themselves for the task of enlightening the public mind, they proceed to give us their conclusions as clearly as they can within their own limitations, with only a backward look, now and then, at the mental processes and experiences that have led them to pronounce judgment. The most obvious result which is produced by such a work upon the well informed reader is one of irritation and discomfort, not at the new thoughts or advanced views of the authors but on account of the absence of sufficient evidence and the lack of reasoned thinking which is displayed. No one now-a-days expects to be startled by radical statements or unusual points of view. All that is asked of the disciple of a new venture in education, politics or religion is that he show us his point of departure from orthodoxy, and explain coherently the evidence upon which he has based his arraignment of the established order. And this demand of the reading public that the author explain himself at the outset of his discussion of public questions is perfectly fair and reasonable. Life is too short to be spent in trying to guess at what the author should have told us in his preface or explained in his opening paragraphs.

Another defect that is painfully apparent in the work of many writers on current politics is the labored effort to read our past history so as to make it yield proof of the author's contention. No one can possibly object to the use of the facts of history in the elucidation of a changing political or social order. On the other hand, nothing is more objectionable than the wrenching of the same facts out of all relation for the purpose of showing the soundness of some particular view of present day conditions. A work by Professor J.

Allen Smith of the University of Washington entitled "Spirit of the American Government" illustrates excellently many of these defects of presentation. The discussion is spirited and clear, but is quite lacking in perspective. In his whole treatment of English law and constitution, for instance, the author omits the fundamental contribution of Anglo-Saxon ideas to the form and especially to the substance of British law, and begins his discussion with the Norman period. In what he says of the French Revolution one can see he is still influenced by the old cataclysmic theory of this great movement, and the significance of the part played by the middle class has been quite overlooked. In all the comparisons between conditions here and in Europe such fundamental considerations as these seem to have been given little weight.

Again, the author is inclined to begin American history at our Revolution, thus losing sight of the evolution of local institutions which really covers a longer period of time than that of our later history. But during a century and a half of colonial development our constitutional progress had been very marked, and the lines of later growth had been laid down. Nothing could be farther from the truth than to look upon the American Revolution as a violent explosion which paralyzed government and gave opportunity for radical changes that were otherwise impossible. The more the colonial governments are studied and the more completely we have before us the record of the long struggle between governor and colonial assembly, the plainer it becomes that our Revolution, far from being a political earthquake, was merely one phase of the progressive unfolding of events that came from the relation of the colonies to mother country. Most of the gains we received from this struggle and nearly all the advantages of local autonomy were already potential in the commercial and political status quo at which we had arrived in 1763. How otherwise is it possible to explain the admirable firmness, the skillful diplomacy and above all the wise and conservative utterances of the Revolutionary leaders. These were not the product of momentary impulses, but rather the result of long and painful labor at the political tasks before them. We were, after 1776, precisely what we were before that date, as far as constitutional principles and political methods were concerned. There was no sudden outpouring of democracy from any source. Our stock of ideas had not been increased by the Declaration of Independence; that document simply summed up our political philosophy, it certainly did not overleap it.

The omission of these important considerations leaves Professor Smith's handling of the Revolution entirely without balance and betrays him into positions which a fuller knowledge of the facts shows to be quite untenable. For a clear and brief statement of this pre-Revolutionary situation one need but to turn to the excellent monograph published last year by the University of California (McCormac, *Colonial Opposition to Imperial Authority during the French and Indian War.*) Here the evidence is offered with the single purpose of presenting what actually occurred during a given period. The method and conclusions offer a striking contrast to those in the work we are considering.

It has long been the favorite device of our political conservatives and reactionaries to seek constantly to divert public attention from present abuses and bad tendencies in our public life to the men and measures of the time when the constitution was adopted. In this way incompetent and corrupt administrations have been sometimes given a new lease of life and have escaped just condemnation on the ground that such attacks would threaten the foundations of the state laid in the days of the wise and virtuous Fathers. Professor Smith seems to have taken this rather transparent device of the politicians quite seriously, and has devoted no small part of his work to showing that the leaders in 1787 were unworthy of our respect, and that the constitution adopted in 1788 was deliberately framed to stifle the democratic ideas and to prevent the normal growth of the American people in the direction they had already begun to move. As already stated, he starts with the false assumption of a victorious democracy as the outcome of the Revolution and from this he proceeds to the discussion of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. We are told that he finds in the makeup of this body a majority who did not truly represent the nation, and he makes a special note of the small number of those who signed the Declaration of Independence to be found among the members of this Convention. The first fact overlooked is that sixteen of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence were not alive in 1787. In the second place, the membership of the Continental Congress of 1776 which Professor Smith assumes to be so much more representative of the whole people, was little different from that of the Convention of 1787. Of these fifty-six members of this Continental Congress of 1776, forty-six per cent were college graduates, seventy-nine per cent were members of the merchant and professional classes, including twenty-five lawyers. On the other hand, the Convention of 1787 had a membership of thirty-

eight, in which thirty-four per cent were college graduates and eighty-four per cent of the merchant and professional classes. It is evident, therefore, that while there was undoubtedly a large percentage of men of first class ability in the Federal Convention, the difference between the two groups of colonial leaders was chiefly one of degree rather than of kind. In other words, colonial representation was pretty much the same thing thruout the whole Revolutionary era because the principles involved and the methods employed had long before been worked out in considerable detail in the local struggle between governor and assembly. Much is made of the secrecy attending the debates (a measure perfectly compatible with the obvious need for dispassionate judgment on such vital matters) yet nowhere is there pointed out in the published debates anything discreditable to the men who spoke, or any evidence of a conspiracy to destroy the liberties of the people. It is the merest assumption to state, as the author does, that a majority of the convention favored a plan of government like that of England. Quite the contrary, the members of this convention afterward spoke for or against the constitution and used the same arguments outside that they had used inside the convention and no one made a general charge that they were guilty of betrayal of trust or that they had unduly favored the interests of the minority. Even a cursory examination of the debate in the state conventions will soon convince one that the main contention had to do with the relative position of the state and the national governments. Anti-Federalist argument was leveled chiefly at the constitution for its interference with state rights and state autonomy. This controversy over the question of national versus state sovereignty was the natural outcome of our previous experience, and it was not and could not be the invention of an interested minority to divert attention from the real issue. The main defects of the Articles of Confederation, as the leaders at that time well knew, lay in the fact that the national government had so little substance and the states were so completely dominant. Whether or not to allow the nation to share in the government of the people on a par with the states was practically the sum total of the whole debate. To the convention that was to decide so momentous a question the states sent their picked men; a primary election, if such a thing were possible at the time, would hardly have bettered the list. The charge that they knowingly thwarted popular demand and played into the hands of a moneyed aristocracy is a little beside the mark. They were far more concerned with providing for adequate defense against

state or federal aggression than they were over the question of popular rule. What a sovereign state could do they knew and understood, the rule of the people as we know it today was unknown. Yet Professor Smith says, "It may be said without exaggeration that the American scheme of government was planned and set up to perpetuate the ascendancy of the property holding class in a society leavened with democratic ideas." If this were so, what an opportunity Thomas Jefferson missed after his victory in 1800, only eleven years after this dangerous victory of a selfish and treacherous minority. Strangely enough this avowed champion of popular rule did not seem at all agitated over this plot against the peace and happiness of the nation. Possibly this blindness to the real interests of the people arose from a temporary obsession of intellect on his part, but it is much more likely that he understood quite as fully as anyone today the real political situation and was fully aware of what was most needed to promote national progress and still further strengthen popular government. But there were other leaders of the people at this time. Were they all terrified by the defeat of 1787 and did they abandon hope after this one reverse? Somehow the facts of history do not seem to fit this ingenious theory which this author has made the central thesis of his work. So far as has yet been shown, the American Revolution did not bring in its train a brief era of democracy, it simply completed the constitutional cycle thru which the colonies were all passing and which ended in their possessing complete sovereignty. These thirteen sovereign states sought separate existence in a confederation and this plan was severely tried during the war with England and broke down completely after the peace of 1783. In a second experiment at confederation the leaders appointed to draw up a plan broke away from a hopeless line of action and framed a constitution providing for a real national existence. This plan was thoroly discust by the people's representatives in the several states and was rejected by only one of them. The main opposition to the new plan centered about the question of the preservation of state sovereignty, since the scheme for a national government seemed to threaten it. There was nothing said publicly about popular or majority rule for it was yet an untried national experiment and other problems were more pressing. There was no propertied class, strictly speaking, for the opportunities for free land were unlimited and the concentration of capital, as we understand it, had hardly begun. We hear of the rich and the poor of Jackson's time, but our one monopoly was then the United States Bank which Jackson

forced out of business in 1833. It was not till the time of our Civil War with its epoch making changes that the beginning of present problems can be discerned. The politicians of earlier generations struggled with the slavery question and were concerned over the National bank, tariff, internal improvements and the Monroe Doctrine. Still farther back, other questions loomed large on the political horizon and absorbed the time of the leaders in seeking for their proper solution. Our generation has its particular problems and crises born of our own time and we can not shirk our responsibilities. Whatever solution or remedy we may offer must belong to the present.

In A. M. Simons' "Social Forces in American History," there is brought together a large number of hitherto isolated facts for the purpose of explaining the trend of events in our history. The effort is thoroly commendable but the conclusions are often not as well founded or decisive as the author would have us believe. In many cases not all the evidence is used and the discussion occasionally descends to mere running commentary on events in which a partisan bias is very evident. In his treatment of colonial conditions Simons has over-emphasized the economic and has ignored the important political elements of the problem of institution making. He has much to say about fur trade, fishing and slave trade, but he gives us practically nothing of those fundamental Puritan ideas which were embodied in their public school system, their town meeting and their congregational system of church control. In Virginia, where the Puritan ideas of local self government found early lodgment before 1619, the fuller development of these principles of representative government came about thru that remarkable middle class migration to the colony between 1649-60. This was the most important single migration of Englishmen to America and with the somewhat smaller migration of a similar class to New England, it brought to the colonies a population capable of laying the Anglo-Saxon foundations upon which our national institutions rest. No one who writes of the social forces in the institutional life of the English colonies can afford to slur over these elementary facts, no matter what special interpretation he may wish to place upon them.

It is to be regretted also, that the period of constitution making should have received so partisan a handling in this work. In the chapters that follow, some new and valuable suggestions are made as to the significance of various epochs of our history. But the loose reasoning and prejudiced view point in the discussions on the Con-

stitutional Convention of 1787, can not fail to leave the reader in doubt as to the fairness and reliability of the remaining portions of the work. No evidence is offered to show that the founders of our present form of government were conspirators who deliberately defrauded and disfranchised the people of that time. This is one of the most fantastic interpretations of history that has yet been offered for the sober consideration of the student. Not only does it charge our early statesmen with betrayal of trust and the grossest dishonesty, but at the same time it presupposes a gullibility and moral degradation on the part of the average American citizen which is hardly complimentary to say the least. There is no evidence yet available that shows our public men of that time to be knaves nor the voters lacking in intelligence. They were, on the average, quite as well informed as we are today, and for over a century voter and representative alike had been carrying on a successful struggle with the royal governors who were backed by the English government, and the people had secured in every case a satisfactory measure of local self government. More than that, in this hard school of training, the leaders had learned how to draw up petitions, resolutions and laws and in the course of the Revolutionary struggle the remarkable form and content of their documents amazed the party leaders in England. Nor were the citizens one whit behind their leaders in their appreciation of what their public papers contained, the argument they set forth and the issues involved. With such a trained and alert constituency as this, no trick of mere politicians, nor plea for class interests would be listened to or tolerated for a moment. The nation desired a stronger government in 1787, and in the discussions over the best methods of procedure the one question that comes prominently forward is the relation of the new national government to the old state government. Naturally enough the allegiance of the average voter was for his state, and he would be slow to favor anything that would lower its prestige or lessen its power. It was not purely a struggle between economic classes, debtor against creditor, but a much larger movement than this, in which the better informed portion of the community stood for a broader national life. They supported the new constitution not solely because it protected property, but because they could see farther and had more faith in a national government than those who had lived far inland and away from the lines of communication. It was not so much a question of property as it was of intelligence that determined the attitude of the voters on the new constitution. The Shenandoah and Connecticut

valleys were excellent highways and were constantly traversed by different groups of settlers, and they were Federal areas. The area east of the Shenandoah valley as well as that east of the Connecticut was isolated and quite cut off from easy means of communication and both of these were Anti-Federalist areas. If, as has been alleged, the people were cheated by a trick into adopting the new constitution, an excellent opportunity was offered in the first presidential election and in the first Congress to show their disgust at these methods and their desire for fair play. As a matter of fact, nothing of the kind developed, the amendments that were in preparation were adopted, Washington was reelected and even Jefferson could not find no vulnerable point of attack upon the new government. The truth was that the Constitution was the best that could be devised at the time and it was so accepted by a remarkably conscientious and fearless body of voters. As fast as a better understanding of the real purport of the contest over the Constitution spread to the more remote interior regions of the states, there was an acceptance of its principles and its provisions as complete as it was permanent. This was so well understood by the leading Federalists in New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Virginia that delay and discussion were vigorously insisted upon as the best answer to all objections, and in these three important states this plan turned the scale in favor of its adoption. If, as these two authors maintain, a fraud were practiced upon the public behind closed doors in secret conclave, the shortest time for decision would have been the only safe procedure for the arch conspirators to adopt in order to win their victory over those who were defending the real interests of the American people.

Now that this Constitution, after more than a hundred years of unexampled social and industrial development, is found to be no longer adequate to meet changed conditions, let us not shirk our own responsibility in the matter by making a scapegoat of an earlier generation. We have allowed conditions to drift into their present state, we have long been too much absorbed in mere material advancement, and we are today paying the inevitable penalty. The evil is not irreparable, we need only to be as honest and clear sighted and determined in our attempt at the solution of our problems as were our forefathers in 1787, and we shall, like them, meet with a due measure of success.

The proposal to introduce the initiative, the referendum and the recall into our state and national governments has brought on a storm of protest, much of it quite incoherent, against the form as well as

the spirit of the change. To this discussion Nicholas Murray Butler has contributed his "Why should we Change our Form of Government?" There is little in the first lecture or in the others that follow it which can be called argument or the presentation of evidence. He announces one original discovery, namely that the cause of Athen's downfall was her practise of using the recall upon her public men in high office, but this obviously has an interest only to the student of speculative politics. He refers to the members of the Convention of 1787 as having shown in their task "almost superhuman wisdom, foresight and skill," and the obvious intent in all this unstinted praise and extravagant eulogy of the men and their task is to throw such a glamour about our Constitution as to render it too sacred a document for the reformers to meddle with. We have already considered two attacks upon the integrity of the founders of the Constitution, attacks not resting on evidence but upon conjecture and prejudice; but if any justification for such arraignment were sought for, it might be found in the nature of the defense offered by President Butler in behalf of our present form of government. There is no more evidence that Washington, Madison, and Hamilton were capable of "almost superhuman wisdom" than there is that they were engaged in a deliberate attempt to defraud the nation of its birth-right. Particularly inappropriate just at this time is his eulogy of Hamilton as one of the founders of our State. As a matter of fact, Hamilton was a foreigner whose tastes and aptitudes were completely alien to us. For this reason his brilliant genius was useful only when under the direction of a leader possess of balanced will and high moral purpose. He served well in Washington's cabinet but his later opposition to President Adams was unworthy of a public man. He had no program for national evolution upon a truly progressive plan, he distrusted the people and the government they had set up, and it was only when Jefferson was elected in 1800, that there was a way opened for our development along broad national lines.

The American voter of today wants not rhetoric but analysis of political conditions, not venerable platitudes, but fundamental principles upon which to base right action. In this emergency there is need for the deep moral convictions and abounding faith in the people which appears in the careers of Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln. These were the true apostles of American democracy and their example has furnished inspiration to many an harassed public man of today.

There is coming to be a demand for an impartial interpretation of what the American people have done in the past. We have a record not of saints nor of villains, but of fair-minded, public spirited men moving on thru trial and defeat to permanent achievement in self government. Those who have read our history carefully know that there is nothing to be ashamed of in our early apprenticeship. The awakening interest in the story of progressive American citizenship is a sign of healthy growth. It is a renaissance as significant as it is spontaneous and genuine. We are great enough to laugh at our failures, we are rich enough to afford the costly experiments of the past, but the time has nearly arrived when the voter must face his own problems and attempt to solve them. That he is ready to do so is evident from the popularity of the proposed reforms in every section of the country. That the Constitution will soon be amended is of course a foregone conclusion as certain as that it is entirely inadequate to meet present conditions. This is peculiarly a twentieth century undertaking, and the voting constituency whose task it will be are thoroughly aroused and profoundly convinced of the need of reform, and, above all, they have full faith in the ultimate outcome.

In 1824 the last Congressional caucus named Crawford as candidate for president. This caucus had nominated practically all preceding presidents, and its right had never been questioned. But popular will now condemned the practise and this bit of party machinery was swept into oblivion. In 1828 nominating conventions were resorted to as the best means of voicing the national demand. At the present time this, too, has fallen into disrepute and the people are substituting more efficient machinery for the registering of their will. It is in vain to cry out against this irresistible tendency as revolutionary. Silently but inexorably the forces of national life have been passing on to more mature forms of governmental activity. No fundamental principles are abandoned, no sacrifice of rights is involved. There has simply been evolved another variation of activity in the complete organization of our politics, more adapted to environment, better fitted to serve those who are to make use of it.

Book Reviews

THE NEW DEMOCRACY: WALTER E. WEYL. An essay on certain economic and political tendencies in the United States. Macmillan Company, New York, 1912. VIII + 370 pp. Price, \$2.00 net.

In the city of New York a railroad company is building a great station while trains are being operated and business continued without interruption. In this instance appear the destruction of the old building, the erection of a new one, and the continuance of traffic. Much the same thing is going on in the functioning of America, in the opinion of the author. We can't stop the country as a going concern long enough to remove all the evils nor engage in leisurely fashion in the rebuilding of political and social institutions. It must be done as time goes on and as the processes of production and consumption continue. Hence suggestions of the closet type cannot affect the general political conditions and industrial circumstances, unless they can be applied and worked out without stopping the social machinery, for the "goingness" of society is a fundamental in the problem of any change.

So, in America the period of expropriation, extreme individualism and weak government was not one in which were laid the foundations of a democracy, but rather one during which the forces at work lent themselves assiduously to the creation of a plutocracy that under the law established itself in government, social organization and industrial control. With the exploitation of the wilderness and the passage of the frontier, America turned upon itself and began in the virgin soil of the cities the same process of exploitation that had been so successful in securing control of natural resources. Organization followed, while the use of the savings of the people and the concentration of control placed a plutocracy on the pinnacle of fame and gave it into the domination of an oligarchy. Ordinarily the national economy point of view is the creation of wealth for consumption purposes, but the view of plutocracy is the gaining of money, not the making of things. Such a goal is destructive to national growth.

When the failure of individualism was a fact patent to most observers its adherents turned to law and order for the protection

they regarded themselves as needing against the plutocracy of their own creation. They called upon the state to interfere, to regulate, and in doing so began to recognize democracy in new forms and in a new field of endeavor. Besides, here in America was a democracy based upon the creation of a social surplus instead of one face to face with greater and greater destitution. The facts themselves disturbed the very foundations of the socialist theory and took a spoke out of the wheel of the doctrine of class war. Better things and larger income under the surplus economy of America brought forth discontent and a democracy which has steadily gained in numbers, strength and sagacity, not thru the medium of poverty, but thru the common basis of wealth distribution. Because of the democratization of government, the socialization of industry and the civilization of the citizen, the democratic army is moving toward its goal. The first weaves the complete control over governmental machinery and processes by recall, direct legislation, direct elections and increased efficiency; the second is to be gained by government ownership, regulation, tax reform and the moralization and reorganization of business in the interest of the industrially weak; and the third is to be brought about by "the conservation of health, the democratization of education, a socialization of consumption, and a raising of the lowest element of the population to the level of the mass." With a closing chapter on "Can a democracy endure," in which the author leaves the impression that it can, this interesting book comes to an end.

Dr. Weyl has produced a new type of book; in this respect, that he has emphasized the evolutionary process thru which a country must pass in reaching a real democracy, and second, that the democracy exists because of the very success of the plutocracy that preceded it. The untenable ground of socialist contention based upon the exploitation of a proletariat is brought to the attention of the reader with clear incisiveness. The new social spirit abroad in the land arises from prosperity, larger income and greater opportunity, which the democracy proposes to preserve and increase by changing the point of emphasis and enlarging the opportunities of the average man. This concept is almost a revelation, and gives a logical as well as a broad economic, social and political basis for much of present contention, coupled with a contagious faith in the process of evolution rightly directed to bring every man a larger opportunity without breaking down the going concern.

FRANK L. McVEY

University of North Dakota

DEMOCRATIC ENGLAND: PERCY ALDEN, M. P., Late Warden of Mansfield House, University Settlement, London. The Macmillan Company, New York. 1912. XII + 271 pp. Price, \$1.50 net.

This book is timely. It records in a concise and concrete manner the vast strides England has taken recently in the direction of social and economic reform. We in the United States who look upon progressive "social programs" as socialistic, and therefore dangerous, would do well to read this fascinating story of the recent achievements of our conservative cousins across the water. The book is broader in its scope than its title, "Democratic England," would indicate. It belongs in the field of sociology or economics rather than in political science. The charming simplicity of the author's style makes the book an unusually readable one. There is not a single dull page in the book.

The book is clearly not the work of a closet philosopher but of a man who has had vital contact with life. The author's fitness to cope with the task set before him is amply attested to in a whole-hearted introduction by Charles F. G. Masterman. Mr. Alden was for twelve years connected with the University Settlement in East London; he was a member of the Council of West Ham, and for six years sat in the House of Commons as a representative of an industrial district of London. The work is eminently the fruit of years of rich, broad experience and mature thinking.

The American reader is especially grateful for the first chapter which supplies the political background so helpful to an understanding of the subsequent studies. Nine chapters follow, each devoted to one specific topic. The mere recital of the problems treated will suggest at once the appropriateness and the scope of the book: The Child and the State, The Problem of Sweating, The Problem of the Unemployed, State Insurance Against Sickness, The Problem of Old Age, The Problem of Housing the Poor, Municipal Ownership, The Labor Movement in England, The Land and the Landless. Thru this variety of subject matter runs one theme: the justification of extending the power of the government for the people's welfare. The author points out that England is passing thru a quiet but wholesome revolution. *Laissez-faire* is fast disappearing. "Liberalism" says the author, "stands today for something more than an opportunistic policy—the new program implies a desertion of the old individual standard and the adoption of a new principle—a principle which the

Unionists call socialistic." (pp. 5-6). The author is apparently not at all frightened by the epithet "socialistic," tho he holds no brief for Socialism. On the other hand, Mr. Alden does not hesitate to advocate the "state's right to interfere with industrial liberty and to modify the old economic view of the disposal of private property." (p. 6).

The value of the book, however, lies not in its general or theoretic discussion of an abstract concept but in its effective presentation of facts which justify England's new political philosophy. The author is very happy in the selection of illustrative material which, notwithstanding its statistical character, is as interesting as it is convincing. His method is simple and direct. There is usually a brief historical sketch of legislative efforts to solve the specific problem. Present conditions are then described which either explain or shed light on the specific evil. Then follows an analysis of the most recent legislative act dealing with the particular problem. The author is not content with a general justification of the reform legislation but is very specific in pointing out its strong and weak points. Further constructive legislation is recommended wherever present machinery fails to meet the need.

The book contains too much meaty substance to attempt in a brief review a detailed statement of its content. We have chosen rather to present the author's point of view and his method of procedure. His conclusions with respect to specific problems seem to us perfectly sound. The author upholds all of the recent acts of Parliament dealing with the problems stated above as aiming to give social justice to the masses. It is interesting to note that he regards this legislation as a means of offsetting the undue burdens of the poor resulting from the present unjust distribution of wealth. The arguments presented in support of each reform are the patent ones and very little original proof is offered, perhaps because none is needed. The author is satisfied that England is on the right path in its efforts to establish social justice. The tone of the book is distinctly optimistic. While the book is not creative in the sense of originating schemes of social reconstruction, it serves its purpose well as propaganda literature in supporting and spreading the truth already discovered.

MEYER JACOBSTEIN

Department of Economics,
University of North Dakota

THE COURTS, THE CONSTITUTION, AND PARTIES: ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, Professor of History, University of Chicago. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1912. VII + 299 pp. Price, \$1.50.

In his recently published series of essays entitled "The Courts, the Constitution, and Parties," Professor McLaughlin has added to the general discussion of the subject two distinct contributions. The most important of these is unquestionably that of historic background. In three of the essays and notably in the one dealing with the power of the Federal Supreme Court to declare a law unconstitutional, he has laid especial emphasis upon the very essential and elementary fact of the origin and development of this court and the gradual increase of function to correspond with national progress. This is a plain historical enquiry and not a partisan attempt to prove some contention on either side of the case. As a point of view this has much to recommend it, when we recall the bitter attacks which have been made on our courts within the past few years and the rather inadequate defense that is usually offered in their behalf. Professor McLaughlin does not attempt to pass on the right or wrong of the case, but he is concerned that the facts shall all be known before conclusions are formulated or judgments formed. He has given us, as a consequence, an admirable statement of the fundamental ideas that have entered into the present position of the Supreme Court and have helped to bring it to its present place of power.

The essays on constitutional construction and written constitutions are equally well conceived and carried out. The principles and constitutional forms we are familiar with here are referred back to their English and continental beginnings. What we lack in much of our political discussions, namely perspective, is placed before us with that clear and forceful handling characteristic of the author. One could wish that such a partisan piece of work as J. Allen Smith's "Spirit of the American Government" might have had the benefit of a little more thoro examination of sources on the part of the author before being published with all its ill-digested reasoning and sweeping condemnation of public men.

The essays on political parties are timely, also, and help to clear up many popular misapprehensions regarding their organizations. The significance of parties is shown in the part they play in the actual machinery for carrying on the government. The problem they present arises from the fact that parties tend to become undemocratic

and must continually be checked and made to conform to popular will. There is also the ever recurrent danger that unprincipled leaders may appeal to the passions of the masses and interfere with reform or do violence to the nice adjustment of interests to be found in every well-ordered state.

O. G. LIBBY

Department of History,
University of North Dakota

SOCIOLOGY IN ITS PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS: CHARLES A. ELLWOOD,
Professor of Sociology, University of Missouri. D. Appleton
and Company, New York. 1912. XIII + 417 pp.

In this volume the author has sought to show the place and function which the psychological factors occupy in society. It has been increasingly apparent that sociologists have been arriving at a consensus of opinion as to the importance of those factors in human society, and further, that they have come to something like an agreement upon the nature of the psychical elements and upon the work they perform. Theories which elevate the external conditions, or the biological factors, or economic conditions to the place of suzerainty over matters of social process and progress have been discarded by sociologists as being insufficient and one-sided in furnishing a scientific explanation of social phenomena. The appearance of theories of suggestion, of imitation, of the desires, and so on, for explanation of the processes and methods of society have increasingly demonstrated the fact that serious students of the subject were emancipating themselves from the older doctrines and approaching nearer to a psychological theory.

It is not entirely unexpected, therefore, that a book should be placed in the field under the title of the volume in review. It could not be foreseen, however, that the volume destined to appear would be so thoro-going, fundamental, and synthetic, so intense and convincing as the book actually produced by Professor Ellwood. It is a rare book because of the qualities which I have just attributed to it. Other virtues should be added, namely, balance and good judgment. The author is not erratic as more brilliant writers have shown themselves to be. He is not picturesque in language nor spectacular in statements. Far better than that, he is plodding, patient, voluminous but not redundant, exact, and thoro. In other words he is scientific.

The volume contains nineteen chapters and a selected bibliography. The first five chapters deal with conceptions, subject-matter, and methods of sociology, and with the relation of sociology to other sciences and to philosophy. He believes that sociology is to be regarded as a synthesis of other social sciences or as a science fundamental to these, because it is broader in its scope and, therefore, more fundamental in its generalizations. (p. 30.) The subject-matter is social phenomena, or processes of association. (p. 21). The problems of sociology are static, namely structure and functions of the forms of association; and dynamic, i. e. of social origin, causes of progress or regress, appearance of types, etc. Chapter 6-12 enter intensively into the discussion of the psychical aspects of society. In these chapters the author treats the psychological basis of society, origin of society, the fundamental fact for psychological sociology, i. e. social coordination and social control, the role of instinct, of feeling, and of intellect in social life, and the theory of social forces. His position is functional versus structural. The social process is made up of psychical beings who, relative to each other, are inter-functioning. All of the biological and psychical elements in the lives of these beings enter in to qualify and direct the course of the process. Synthesis of these factors, rather than control of the situation on the part of any of these, is the author's contention. Coordinated adaptation to the environment and to each other produces forms and organizations which may be viewed as analogous to the formation of habits in the individual. Changed conditions impel to readaptation or accommodation which is mediated thru the cooperation and resolution of the constituent elements. Society originated in response to the cooperation called out by the nutritive and reproductive processes. The instincts of animals continued to work in the lives of men, and influenced by a growing intellect, were redirected for social purposes. The development of intelligence and sympathy secured a coordination which was more in harmony with the general well-being. The intellect is the agency of accommodation, enabling the group to readjust itself and furnishing a way to recoordinate individuals and organizations. Imitation assists in "propagating acquired uniformities." (p. 155.) Disintegration of groups arises whenever there is a failure to build up new coordinations to meet changing needs. Conflict finds its place here. Revolutionary periods appear when there is a breakdown of social habits. (pp. 160-170). Social self-control is secured thru a restrain on individuals thru the establishment of the various institutions, such as government, law, religion, education.

The instincts are psychological expressions of the hereditary and selective factors which have come down in society from the past. Instinctive impulses enter into every social activity, and since they represent the original motor activities they may be considered the propelling forces of society. Feelings are more individualistic than instincts but qualify the social process because entering into it by way of evaluation so largely. The intellect modifies instinctive adjustments, directs the group in new ways, creates and invents to the upbuilding of achievements or to the revolutionizing of social procedure. The remaining chapters deal with the role of imitation and sympathy, the various phases of the social mind, forms of association, nature of society, and theories of the social order and of progress. Imitation is not sufficient to account for all uniformities in society. Its best service is rendered in the middle stages of social evolution. Since differences are essential in higher coordinations it is inefficient there. The sociological theory of progress finds good in all the partial theories such as the anthropo-geographical, the biological, economic, and educational, recognizes their contributions, and correlates them. It is synthetic rather than partial. The nature of society is psychical and the psychological theory, because it is inclusive of all other factors along with the psychical factor, represents the "synthetic or final stage in the development of sociological theory." (p. 389). Human society does not exist for the sole development of happiness of the individual, nor of personality, but for "the development of a harmonious and perfect society of individuals." (p. 393). Progress means promotion of harmony among social members, cooperative enterprise and ability, and capacity for group survival. (p. 368).

This is a very imperfect statement of the contents of Professor Elwood's book of nearly 400 large pages. Naturally a reviewer would like to treat some statements critically. But the number of statements and theories which require averse criticism, in my estimation, are relatively few. Moreover they pertain to refinements and smaller essentials, rather than to fundamental considerations. The volume is worth anyone's while to study carefully, and the author is to be congratulated on its production.

JOHN M. GILLETTE

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University of North Dakota

University Notes

The Religious Census

One of the things which has been distinctly gratifying at the University of North Dakota has been the large number of students who are either members of churches or have a church preference. For several years it has been the custom to tabulate the results of a query sent to students on this point for the information of the administrative officers. Out of the number, 650, registered in the different colleges, etc. all but 111 indicated their church or church preference. The table given below shows an interesting situation that is highly commendable:

RELIGIOUS CENSUS UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA

<i>Church</i>	<i>Members</i>	<i>Preference</i>	<i>Total</i>
Lutheran	89	29	118
Methodist	77	55	132
Presbyterian	63	46	109
Catholic	57	5	62
Congregational	29	17	46
Episcopal	29	9	38
Baptist	17	6	23
Jewish	2	2	4
Christian Science	0	4	4
Church of England ..	2		2
Apostolic	1		1
Not expressing religious preference			111
	<hr/> 366	<hr/> 173	<hr/> 650

Nor is it to be supposed that the 111 who did not answer are to be put down as indifferent, but rather as withholding the information because a personal matter. The religious life of the University takes many forms thru the cooperation of the churches and their young people's societies, in addition to the Sunday evening vesper service at Corwin Hall. There is among the young people a feeling of religious thoughtfulness that could be helped to real purpose by the development of personal relationship between the pastors of churches in the city and students of their own denominations. The Methodists have

undertaken one plan in Wesley College; the Congregationalists of the state have established a church to minister to the needs of students of that branch of christian belief, while another denomination a year ago maintained a university pastor.

At various state universities a great deal of emphasis is being placed upon the religious life of students by church bodies. At the University of Wisconsin there are seven university pastors; at Minnesota the churches of the city join with the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. in employing a university pastor; at Kansas are two guild halls that aim to maintain a center for student religious life, while at Michigan is Tappan Institute. Where the student body is comparatively small, as at the University of North Dakota, the local churches should, by the use of an assistant to the pastor, be able to meet present needs, and this effort, assisted by the cooperation of pastors in the different towns of the state, thru the sending of names to the pastors here, would be very helpful in developing an early interest in church connection on the part of the student. The young people at the state universities in the different parts of the land come from the same homes as do the students attending institutions on private foundations, with ideals and purposes fully as high. In the long run the state will be regarded as the great ethical impulse which will be maintained thru the process of public education.

The Educational Commission The last legislature of the state provided for an Educational Commission, who were, in the language of the statute, "to study the educational system, both in the United States and elsewhere, with a view to formulating a report which will present a basis for the unifying and systematizing of the educational system of this state, including the several secondary schools and higher institutions of learning and the department of public instruction." The Commission consists of the president of the State University, the president of the Agricultural College, the president of the Valley City Normal School, the chairman of the state Senate, the speaker of the House, and a citizen of the state appointed by the governor. During the past summer much material was collected, and since the first of September the Commission has met at Grand Forks, Valley City and Fargo for the purpose of discussing the general features of the problem and listening to the views of the heads of the different institutions. The Commission expect to report to the legislature in January.

The Enrollment Dakota has been recognized by a steady increase of students in the different colleges. In the year 1909 the registration for the colleges was 385; the following year the increase carried the enrollment to 490; the succeeding year was one in which the state had a crop failure, and as a consequence the enrollment was but 495; last year the figures reached 534, and for the present academic year the enrollment has gone to 532, with eight months of the year still remaining. For the first time in the history of the University the total enrollment, including summer schools and correspondence students, will go beyond the thousand mark. The following brief summary will show more specifically the actual result:

Graduate Students	14
Colleges	528
Model High School.....	120
College Section Summer Session.....	87
Elementary Section Summer Session.....	237
Correspondence Students	42

1028

Professor Cooley's New Books During the past summer, Professor Roger W. Cooley of the Law School, has had published two

new law books. One of these, published in July, is a revision of a text-book on the law of Damages by Wm. B. Hale. This book was first published in 1896, and has been considerably enlarged and revised for the second edition. In September, there was published "Cases on Insurance," a collection of illustrative cases on the law of Insurance, to be used as a companion book to Vance on Insurance. This is the first of a series of illustrative case books to be issued by the West Publishing Company of St. Paul, Minn. Professor Cooley teaches the subject of Insurance in the Law School and his book is now in use as the foundation of the course. In this connection it may be said that Professor Cooley has written a five-volume work entitled, "Briefs on the Law of Insurance," published in 1905, which is recognized by both bench and bar as a standard work on the subject. Professor Cooley will also soon have two new books from the press. One of these is a case book on "Persons and Domestic Relations," and the other is a case book on "Damages," to be used as a companion book to the text on that subject already referred to. These are now in plate and will be published early next year. The preparation of these

books occupied the greater portion of Professor Cooley's time for several years before he became a member of the law faculty.

In additions to the books which he has already written or revised, Professor Cooley is now preparing a text-book and a companion case book on the law of Municipal Corporations. These will be published next fall.

**The Women's
League**

How to bring about a feeling of solidarity among the women students in a co-educational institution, how to break down the artificial division of dormitory girls and town girls and have instead the one group, University Women, is a serious problem. A second problem is how to bridge the seeming gulf between students and "faculty ladies"—a phrase which includes not only the women of the faculty but the wives of the men of the faculty—and bring about an acquaintanceship, the benefits and pleasures of which both recognize. These problems needed solution here, as elsewhere, and it was in hopes of solving them that the Women's League of the University of North Dakota was organized in the spring of 1908.

All women students of the University, upon the payment of the yearly dues, become active members of the Women's League. The faculty ladies and resident alumnae, upon the payment of the same dues, become associate members. The government of the League is vested in two boards, the Executive and Advisory. The Executive Board consists of ten students; four seniors, three juniors, two sophomores, and one freshman elected by their respective classes with the exception that three of the juniors are elected for the two years, leaving only one member to be elected by the senior class. The Advisory Board is composed of two ex-officio members, the wife of the President of the University and the Dean of Women, and six faculty ladies, three of whom are elected biennially for a term of two years. Up to this year, the boards have been co-ordinate in the government of the League; but it is now deemed advisable that the two boards should be differentiated, each assuming the function its name implies. The Advisory Board, however, will still have a vote in matters of finance and policy.

When the new Commons building was completed, the old quarters in the basement of Davis Hall were given to the League for club rooms. As the necessary funds are obtained, these rooms, a reception room, a rest room, reading and recreation rooms, and a kitchen are being redecorated and furnished. Already the club rooms

present an attractive appearance and, in addition to there being a meeting place for the League, they furnish comfortable quarters for the women students who live in the city and spend the day at the University. Each Tuesday afternoon, from four to six o'clock, a group of students, active members of the League, are at home to the women students and faculty ladies, and over the cup that cheers but not inebriates many a pleasant acquaintanceship has been formed. The third Tuesday in each month the invitation includes the men of the faculty and student body. For three years on the fourth Tuesday of the month has been given a Twilight Concert in the auditorium of Woodworth Hall. A merely nominal admission is charged, but the programs are most carefully prepared. This year the Chamber Concerts by the Haydn String Quartet will furnish four of the programs, and no lover of music can afford to miss this treat. The excellent dramatic programs which alternate with the Chamber Concerts afford a fine opportunity for the public to enjoy the histrionic ability of the members of the League; and this ability is of no mean order. Besides its weekly teas, the League gives two parties during the year, an informal "getting acquainted" party the first week of the year for the freshmen, and a more formal reception later in the year to which all the students of the University, men and women, and their parents are invited together with the faculty, alumni, and friends of the University.

In judging of the place of the League in University life, one must bear in mind that the teas and receptions are only means to an end, not the end itself. Training in the social graces; closer fellowship among the students; the bringing together of students and faculty as men and women who have common interests; the establishment of a democratic organization in which all students may meet on equal footing, and all have their parts to play in carrying on its work; these are some of the purposes for which the organization was founded. The League will always have for its ultimate aim whatever seems most essential for the best development of the university women, and thru this the uplift of all University life. Knowing that growth means life and that stagnation is death, the League is ever reaching out to greater accomplishments, and one of its dreams for the future is a Women's Building that shall be not only an ornament to the campus but a central rallying place for the social life of the University.

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THE REGISTRAR,

University, N. D.

Announcement

THE Quarterly Journal is a periodical maintained by the University of North Dakota. Its primary function is to represent the varied activities of the several colleges and departments of the University, tho it is not limited to that. Contributions from other sources are welcomed, especially when they are the fruitage of scientific research, literary investigation or other forms of constructive thought. Correspondence is solicited.

The subscription price is one dollar a year, single numbers, thirty cents.

All communications should be addressed,

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL,
University, North Dakota

Editor's Bulletin Board

THE next number of the QUARTERLY JOURNAL will represent the political and social sciences. In it will be found the long promised article by Dr. Libby on "Political Factions in Washington's Administration," and that of Justice Bruce on "The New Individualism," both unavoidably crowded out of earlier numbers. In addition there will be found at least one other, a study of the Exile and its effects on the Hebrew people, by Dr. W. N. Stearns, Professor of Biblical Literature and History in Fargo College.

The University of North Dakota

SUMMER SESSION, 1913. JUNE 23 TO AUG. 2

THE ELEMENTARY SECTION (beginning June 30) is under the management of a Board consisting of the State Superintendent, the President of the University and the County Superintendents of Grand Forks, Pembina, Nelson and Walsh counties. Professor C. C. Schmidt of the University is Director. It offers work of special interest to teachers in the rural schools, and also to those expecting to occupy grade positions in village and city systems. The State Board of Examiners accepts creditable work in lieu of examination in certificate subjects.

THE COLLEGE SECTION offers instruction in seventeen college departments including economics, education, history, languages (ancient and modern), literature, philosophy, psychology, sociology, and the sciences. The University gives credit for work done during the Summer Session the same as during the regular University year.

SPECIAL FEATURES IN COLLEGE SUBJECTS:

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THE REGISTRAR, University, N. D.

The Quarterly Journal

VOLUME 3

APRIL, 1913

NUMBER 3

“Don Quixote”—a Book*

HENRY LAMPART LEDAUM, †

Head of the Department of Romance Languages,

University of North Dakota

To Henry LeDaum, Jr.,
and his wondering friends,
Dapple and Rocinante.

—“A son nom il grandit encor . . . ”

—*Edmond Rostand*.¹

* * *

“Mientras se duerme todos son iguales” . . . ‡

Don Quixote, Vol. II., Chap. XLIII.

I

“DON QUIXOTE” is the book of lives, and the epitome of a race. It justifies the concern of thinking men because it embodies (1) a criticism of human nature as it is, *helas*, and (2) a satire on society—a society whose outworn idealism maddens men to this day.

It is a book new-armed with wholesome wit and good-natured farce to meet the old argument of force and the masque of authority, the smirk of intolerance and the jade of ignorance. It pleads with

* The Ingenious Gentleman—Don Quixote de la Mancha—of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra; translated with introduction, notes, and appendices, by J. Ormsby. There is an American edition of this celebrated translation (given to England in 1885), from the press of Thomas J. Crowell & Co., both parts in one volume. Professor Ormsby's, all in all, is the best Englished “Don Quixote” in print.

† The manuscript of this article was submitted by Professor LeDaum only a few days before he was taken ill. He died before it reached the printers. While he went over it with me with considerable care at the time of submission, and while I have been very careful to respect his every wish, it may, nevertheless, lack some of those “finishing touches” which a discriminating author likes to bestow upon such a piece of work when seen in the “proof.”—(Editor.)

1. Le Contrebandier, stanza XXII of a remarkable poem from *Les Musardises* (1887-1893): New edition, pp. 274-292. Charpentier et Fasquelles, Paris, 1911.

‡ While we sleep, as luck would have it, we are all equal.—Proverb 92 of Ormsby's collection.—Appendix I.

men—ungrateful task—to divest themselves of pretense and tyranny, of prejudice and perversity. Its humanitarian motives, free from sarcasm or condescension, captivate and fascinate. America is much in need of its purging satire; and, lest we forget, it is here considered anew and without apology. So much has been said regarding "Don Quixote," such a wealth of personal opinion lavished on Cervantes, and so many great scholars have honored this dear old classic that little more than opportune restatement is left the new-comer.

It occurs to many after years of companionship with "Don Quixote" that this book was written under the greatest political and social difficulties. It was; and their solution must be sought in history as well as in the matchless fable which embodies or conceals Cervantes' ideas. They find that this seditious man escaped from the fangs of the Inquisition. He did; and the good Archbishop of Toledo must have trembled at the audacity of his protegee! They wonder that Spain tolerated the book, its treasonable utterance and bold symbolism! Why? Was the prophet then not understood in his own country and were Spaniards mystified or lost in conjectures? Neither! Nor did the message of Cervantes go astray. It could not. The world was ready for it. Consider how, in course of time, the natural man, his social rights, and his personal freedom, had been abandoned or bartered for a mess of pottage, culture, or imposture! I marvel not at the exceeding cunning and dangerous artifice required to bring him back to nature and reason. He bows to so many superstitions, obscures his vision with so many idols, pays tribute to so many subtle middle men, and stands inert against so much tradition: he will long need craft or native sagacity to find his way out of the toils. Some live to learn that our institutional claptrap does not make a man, and often obliterates his humanity; others, that to live by profession, to carry out an ideal rigorously, to educate away from reality, is to educate falsely, is to neutralize the springs of action, is Quixotic, is fatal! The ancient, vested interests engendered fear of progress; will free thought and free speech, free inquiry and free education, free superstitions, free heresies, make men cruel cowards still? History will tell. It repeats itself. We are ever confronted by the same problems; under a new mask or under the old, the same extortioners and executioners haunt the human race. In their effort to apprehend the real difficulty, men tilt at many windmills—will anyone say that the tilting of Don Quixote was profitless, because forsooth windmills stood immovable and self-complacent, like tradition or conservatism? I do not say that "Don

Quixote" may not be enjoyed or understood without historical reference; it needs little or none. I wish to make it clear, however, that this plain-spoken book appeared in times so difficult for a plain-speaking writer that its apparent conformity with an impossible state of affairs is the wonder of modern censorship.² "Great prudence was required to dissemble the joy I felt," says Cervantes, where he pretends³ that "Don Quixote" is a translation of some old leaves written in Arabic. "A boy was offering them for sale to a peddler; and when, with the aid of a Morisco, I had made out the title I bought the whole bundle for half a penny." It was Cid Hamet Benegeli's mirific tale! This naive subterfuge long gave Cervantes' literary offspring a plausible and legitimate paternity. Is it not delightful?

But I am going ahead of my story. I must here tell something of the plan followed in these pages:—

My purpose is to awaken the interest of American students in a worthy modern classic produced in the days of Spain's greatness. No one, I trust, will think it amiss, on the eve of a new Spain and of "Pan-America," to addle our commercialism with a bit of literature!

Without pursuing this great empire with the three-fold formality of a learned dissertation, I, nevertheless, do the three things usually done in the study of a great work, and each in its own time and need: I describe the subject; I explain the subject; and I criticize the subject; and this, that I may fulfill, like other writers, "the laws of all progress and of all intellectual activity."⁴

"Don Quixote" is a world concern altho the Spaniards of Cervantes' day knew it as little as the philistines of our own. He might have known, tho, had his institutions found "more method to express him through" and "less system to adapt him to,"—or like crudities of modern pedagogy. We hear much, in this age of relative insignificance, of absolute values (as if society were static) and of religious

2. That Cervantes' book was closely scrutinized by the Inquisition may be inferred from the "Aprobaciones"—one to the first volume, and three to the second. These with the "tasas," the certification of copy, and the king's permit to print, constitute the principal documents relating to the censorship of "Don Quixote." Note that the "Aprobaciones" speak of the moral import of Cervantes' book, and praise this, saying nothing of the philosophical aspect of the work. Cf. The David Nutt edition of "Don Quixote"—Preliminaries to Vols. I and II. Cf. Also the gossip of the censorship in Aribau, in Vol. 1 of the Rivadeneyra Library,—*Vida de Cervantes, Obras, etc.*

3.—"Mucha discrecion fué menester para disimular el contento que recibí cuando llego a mis oídos el título del libro, y saltándosele al sedero, compré al muchacho todos los papeles y cartapacios por medio real."—"Don Quixote," Vol. I., Ch. IX.

4. George Brandes, "On Reading," P. 21. Duffield & Co., N. Y., 1906.

error (as if the past only were able to think). Conduct (which needs experience) has been too long conditioned by the ruts of prophetic days. Limitation, ignorance, profession and protection had their place in the economy of Spanish life, but they were a poor substitute for character; and organization, as a substitute for conduct, was the last refuge of an institution morally dead.

Don Quixote wrecks his life between character and conduct; his life is a detailed confession, with startling revelations, of misfits and makeshifts—disillusions and defeats, in a world—not of his profession! Character had been in the making for ages with seeming small concern for conduct. Since then, character has taken on institutional stamp; but, from the viewpoint of educational cost, has improved too little or changed too slowly to warrant institutional monopoly. Life must face society, not scholastic abstractions; and society must afford new channels for individual development and personal expression. A new vision—free from ridicule, is needed in an age of tradition and limitation,—the solemn political and theological pronouncements of the hour to the contrary notwithstanding. But this is an essay on “Don Quixote”—the book. So I pass incontinent a number of philosophical considerations,—pressing upon us, as Cervantes would say.

My “Don Quixote” is not a regular vademecum, tho it bristle with apostil and commentary. It is a cicerone—opinionated and capricious, strong with the conceit of new times and the egotism of new life. This erratic creature of dilletantism and eclecticism shows at times his lack of charity for an older art and his prejudice for a newer craft. Yet, my cicerone is unobtrusive and unpedantic, except by the contraries of fortune; and, he exercises independence (when he does) according to his own competency on matters under consideration. He is a bit too full, I fear, of the modern self, but respectful withal in the presence of an old master. But neither vademecum nor cicerone,—it is a deplorable fact, has an adequate sense of the other’s humor; and, as with the principals in the book we are about to study, it is the wary champion of both who carries off the prize. My “Don Quixote” is intended to reassure:—in the silence of great thoughts, and in the loneliness of single exploration, its thoughtless chatter may even prove companionable!

"Buen natural tienes, sin el cual no hay sciencia que valga.

. . . "

Don Quixote, Vol. II, Ch. XLIII.

II.

"DON QUIXOTE" is one of the great books of the world and the greatest in Spanish Literature. It is classed among the supreme works of the imagination and ranked high in human intelligence. Altho not in epic form, it is a national literary monument of heroic proportions and of great human interest. It is a simple and wholesome book, philosophical rather than speculative, and so wise as to be undogmatic in tone. Yet it is seldom read outside of Spain by mature readers; its episodic nature, I take it, is exploited so readily for the benefit of children, that it somehow prejudices the adult. We know *Don Quixote* as a freak acquaintance of our youth; we suspect something of him in our young human nature, even in our mock-heroic early manhood, and we often resolve to renew our acquaintance with him; but lack of time, interest, or energy hinder. Should we not first read the Hebrew Bible and the Greek Testament? Perhaps; altho few books, Brandes thinks, even if read in the light of our own day, prove so conclusively as these that the bulk of mankind cannot read at all. But we have the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid*, the *Divine Comedy* and *Paradise Lost*; we have Ariosto and Tasso, and many more of these man-made books, divinized and then shelved. These should be read too if we would understand the genealogy of books, and appreciate the source of great things in Hugo, Tennyson, and others of our modern writers. In this reading age so full of the present, we have but little time for the old masters. Outside of music and painting, this cult of the masters has gone out of fashion. I venture, nonetheless, to call your attention to one of these. His book is a treasure. It will pay you to bring to it your rare leisure and allegiance, altho much of it may seem unworthy and unintelligible "stuff." Be persistent! . . . The richest ores lie deep within the earth. They are often wedded to stubborn and worthless rock! It is the way of nature. A nameless brook flows immaculate between mud banks; its music springs from senseless stones! Nature, with all its imperfections, is nature still, and the works of man are man's work for all that. All the truth is not in them; far from it—and many of them are valued only for the occasional gleams that coax the miner and give him visions of greater things.

"Don Quixote" is among the rare books which have put in a word of protest in subtle mockery of the petty world of artifice and pious fraud contrived for us since the dawn of the Christian Era. But, even before, man had striven to substitute his own devised world for that of nature; to crown nature with a supernatural fiction; to discount human nature to the credit of a hypothetical, divine nature; to dwarf men into ridiculous lunatics, blindly cursing the realities of life, and of mother earth. Where errors have so long held sway as in Spain, the great emancipating book we are about to study castigates too unerringly to be despised or allowed to perish from the earth. Take Don Quixote for health of mind and body; its wholesome humor invigorates, its laughter is contagious, its satire, legitimate. Don Quixote, says the book, was a bold Knight of La Mancha; and the discerning hero of an immortal wind-mill fight! His fame has well-nigh eclipsed the name of its author, Cervantes, real hero of Lepanto, and dreaded captive of Turkish pirates. He so singularly endowed this creature of his imagination, that Don Quixote has, if not outlived, at least over-shadowed its paternity. The chivalrous knight still errs undisputed over the wilds of La Mancha, and his record of deeds is yet the golden book of Spanish Romance. It was begun, I am sure, in a fit of fine good humor, with no malice aforethought, only remotely imbued with poetic frenzy or local fanaticism, and when much of life's fitful fever had already mellowed its author. Here is a book, which in appearance is so peace-abounding, so unmindful of the tumult of crashing empires, so blind to general human agony, as to baffle the modern reader regarding its ultimate purpose. Its deliberate self-control, enticing lengths, and Spanish gravity, are in the light of history, exasperating: it disconcerts even the eager student, who finds in it only evident meaning, reality, and common-places. Yet, it was conceived in the days of Spain's greatness, and completed amid the most ominous signs of its mighty fall to death and oblivion. I am referring to the XVIth century.⁵ Charles V. (1500-1558), King of Spain, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and Lord of the Americas . . . had brought his eventful reign to a close, embittered and disgusted with the Dutch in particular, for rejecting the blessings of his divine rule. He had tried hard to bring about religious unity with the help of the state, and had failed as con-

5. Concerning this eventful epoch, cf. Martin, A. S., "Hume's The Spanish People—Their Origin, Growth, and Influence," with summaries after each chapter; Index and Bibliography; D. Appleton & Co., N. Y., 1909. The best short history of Spain written; it abounds in significant chapters.

spicuously as France in the next century would fail to bring about political unity with the help of the church. It was only despotism in churchly guise now waging a bitter war for world sway and re-incarnation. Philip II (1527-1598) succeeded quite as little in the aims and ambitions of his father. His plan to put all Europe under the yoke of Catholic Rome failed signally in spite of paternal instruction, imperial resources, threats and force. He died like Charles V, self-immured and sulking. He had found it impossible, unprofitable and inglorious to make Christians out of the English as his august father out of the Dutch. Nor could Philip III (1598-1624), with his reign "*à la Louis XV*" of France, arrest the downward trend of the mighty empire, and his death witnessed its passing from the great nations of the earth. You would have thought Cervantes, Spaniards, and other Europeans, would have observed and learned the lesson of XVIth century Spain, but not so; where old time royalty and ecclesiastics govern, history repeats itself with singular regularity and fatality. Oriental despotism had taken refuge in the Christian church; it ruled thru the "*Holy Inquisition*,"⁶ and Luther (1483-1546), had only just proclaimed the individual conscience and the "*protesting*" reason. And this protesting reason, in so far as superstition is compatible with reason, had not as yet so effectively murmured against medieval Rome!

Cervantes was born in 1547; he had thus lived thru the eventful times if this great century when he died in 1661, the year of Shakespeare's death. Nor did he live far from the center of things: Alcalá de Henares, his birthplace, is only a few miles northeast of Madrid on the highway to Saragossa and Barcelona. —He must have heard all about him the glorious tales of the conquistadors, their discoveries in the New World, their picturesque adventures, and their deeds in all the Americas. He must have seen the soldiers of Charles and Philip march away, each an *hidalgo*, a *caballero*, a *matamore* or a conquistador, to the subjugation of the Heathen, the Jew, the Moslem, to exterminate the protestant Dutch, the Moor, or the American Indian, or escort suspect fellow Christians to the

6. Cf. Henry Charles Lea, LL.D.: *History of the Inquisition of Spain*; 4 vols.; only volume 1 and 2 have appeared. Macmillans, N. Y., 1906. This voluminous, non-controversial writer is perhaps the most complete on the "*Inquisition*." Among his eight great works, the *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, 3 vols., is the best known; Harper's & Brothers, N. Y., 1887. Aside from these standard works, Dr. Lea has given: *The Moriscos*; *Studies in Church History*; *History of Auricular Confession*; *Indulgences in Latin Church*; a *Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy*; *Superstition and Force*, etc.

quemaderos, to be burned alive.⁷ Thru the Holy Inquisition, its Ximenes, Albas⁸ and Torquemados, the flames of the church were richly fed in those good days of religious supremacy. It was a popular delight; eager spectators flocked hither from the ends of the Spanish realm. The victims, clothed in the sambenito—a yellow shroud of infamy, were to be burned, strangled, or otherwise executed in public. This wholesale persecution by their Christian majesties reached appalling figures. Ward⁹ quoting Galton, says: "The Spanish nation was drained of its brains at the rate of 1000 persons annually, for the three centuries between 1471 and 1781. . . ." The actual data during those 300 years are 32,000 burned alive, 17,000 burned in effigy, and 291,000 condemned to various terms of imprisonment, and other penalties. But Clericalism is heir to all that dies in Spain. The church lives by the time-honored conspiracy of its buried hosts. And its thrift and enterprise in Spain are here shown to give the alert reader a clearer sense of the rôle about to be played by "Sancho Panza" in the affairs of men. These figures do not represent the drain on society by the pacific (and laudable) methods of the church. It bespoke fair daughter and gentle son for its vast organization until it strained the family without economic returns and bred its best strain to a barren social issue. And Spain responded until the nation was deprived of sociable contact with these choice members of its race and the race was denied their better qualities in the breeding strain of the nation. It was this "holy" regime which enslaved South America, which despoiled Mexico, which led to the murder of 1,200,000 (twelve hundred thousand) harmless Indians in Cuba, Jamaica, and St. Domingo," hanging them by thirteens in honor of a merry thirteenth apostle.¹⁰ Such figures can be matched only in the very Christian France of the next century when from the St. Bartholomew to the close of Louis XIV's reign, 300,000 or 400,000 Protestants perished in prison, at the galleys, in their attempts to escape, or on the scaffold; and an equal number emigrated. Italy was also frightfully persecuted at an earlier date. Portugal, too, was long aflame with the fires of the

7. For this religious mania of public stake-burning in the Spanish nation and in its possessions,—Mexico, etc.,—cf. Hume, *Op. cit.* Ch. X. *passim*.

8. For Alba's bloodthirsty career, cf. Hume, *Op. cit.*, P. 372—footnote especially.

9. Lester F. Ward; *Applied Sociology*, P. 162; Ginn & Co., Boston, 1906.

10. Fox-Reece; *Martyrology*, Vol. I. Read this work, tho somewhat aged, if you would test the temper of political Christianity. Cf. also the works of Lea., *op. cit.* in note 6, *passim*.

Inquisition; but I must return to Cervantes. He must have heard of the Spanish gold-and-silver-laden galleons, for at that time every one had his ship coming in at turreted Sevilla, on the Guadalquivir. He must have heard of the Invincible Armada (1588) a threatening, murderous cloud, sailing away to scourge England's renegades and antichrists. Spain could hardly endure these Islanders since Henry the VIII had been proclaimed by the English Parliament (1535) the only supreme Head of the Church in England! Now, Philip would punish this boorish pretense. But the England of virtuous Queen Bess was ready with its good ships and native storms! He must have heard of Luther and the Reformation, of Jerusalem and its unquestioning zeal. He must have heard of King Francis of France, of the Medicis, and later, of St. Bartholomew. He must have heard of these things and was a spectator of some of these! But if so, his book says it not. As a well advised Spaniard, he sees nothing, hears nothing, knows nothing, at least he says nothing of the boiling cauldron of his day. Yet, he must have felt its muzzling obscurantism, the operations of the church, and its resistance to truth thru press-censorship. Had not Spanish literature as yet discovered its true function, or was it interested in the Ancients only? The latter, I fear. Cervantes had not, nor anyone else, as yet discovered the Spanish people. No one at least had spoken in language meant for men. His outward sympathy with the spiritual system of Spain may have been enlisted thru the national fear of the Moors, or of the Moriscoes,—race hatred being then extensively exploited. Had he not shared the national zest for a raid on the Jews, or a descent on the Turk? But Cervantes is as silent about the church with its temporal pretenses as he is about the monarchy with its divine pretenses. Yet he must have seen that these institutions were enslaving his country with erroneous and stupid dogmas, and unworthy deeds. Cervantes knew that institutions and ideas are man-made, projected by men to emancipate men and not to brand them with a covenant distorted into proprietary rights of divine origin. Even Dante suspected this, tho he judge with the reason of his day, err with the conscience of his times, and censure with the appalling severity of his age. But however much we might expect these things to be dealt with in his great book, Cervantes does it not. We might enjoy contemporaneous comment on Philip II living in his Escorial tomb, studying magic, bending over an alembic seeking to transfuse base metals into gold; or in his crypt, hung with ghoulis shadows and smoking torches, practicing astrology; but Cervantes has not a

word of these royal idiosyncracies.¹¹ He seems leagued with the shades of night to hide such sinister sinners and keep their painful secrets. Or else, he may have been too busy making history, while a soldier, in his early manhood; or too engrossed with his own Quixotics, as an author, in his decline; for Cervantes had a busy life.

There are three important epochs in his life: his literary and military career to Lepanto (1571); his captivity of five years among Algerian corsairs (1571-1576); his government employ and his incidental literary activity thence to his death in 1616. As a soldier he fought at Lepanto in the strait of Corinth, under Don Juan of Austria, to break the ever threatening and tightening crescent of Turkish invasion.¹² The Turks were masters of the Mediterranean, and the Christian shores were constantly and mercilessly pillaged for slaves, captives, ransoms, harems,—all the practices of the pirates of Barbary. Lepanto was a great but late victory for Christendom, and Cervantes gives us an echo¹³ of it in his famous book. We get a startling insight into the traffic of Barbary and the ways of the semi-orientals of North Africa; we see Cervantes in captivity at Algiers, with a lot of helpless wights, mutilated and in slavery, a grewsome crew, noseless, earless, empaled, in chains, or rowing in the galleys of the Turks in their expeditions against the infidels. The chapters on the "Captive"¹⁴ are of the most vivid in his great work. Upon his return to Spain, Cervantes makes a new start in life, a wiser man despite an inordinate thirst for fame, still a Spaniard in political outlook, full of the Golden Age he has helped to make for romantic Spain, but cured of the visions of his people. In the midst of his varying fortunes, he now gives a leisure hour to literature hoping to achieve fame as a dramatist, the dream of his youth. Incidentally and between the acts that would reform the drama of Spain, he hits off and publishes in chap-book form, they

11. (a) On the madness of the age (1) the works of the imagination dealing with madness, and (2), the actual madness of men.—whatever may have been the cause, much has been written. Shakespeare, Calderon, Lope de Vega, Cervantes, Ariosto, Tasso, Philip II., etc., either produced great studies of madness, or were personally mad.

(b.) Cf. Havelock, Ellis; *The Soul of Spain*. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York; 1908, P. 226:—"King Lear appeared in the same year as Don Quixote—when Shakespeare brought together the madman and the fool on the heath in a concord of divine humour." Not unlike "Don Quixote" and "Sancho"! Nor was it a mere fad of the Renaissance. It was characteristic of that epoch of classic imitation: "The Wrath of Achilles I sing,"—had said Homer, in the *Iliad*.

12. The historic tide is turning. Italy has just closed a victorious campaign in Africa, against Turkey. The Balkan nations are about to complete the work of destiny—and of Italy, by driving the Turk back to Asia.

13. "Don Quixote," Vol. I., Ch. 39.

14. Vol. I., Chs. 39-42.

say,—“Nick Carter” style, a series of jibes and jests against tales of chivalry, and wakes up one morning astounded to find himself read and appreciated for his “Don Quixote” of La Mancha! This celebrated knight might have hailed from any other wilderness of Spain; for it is preposterous that La Mancha in the days of Cervantes should own a single knight. To an alert Spaniard, as you see, Cervantes’ book is funny from the start.

No one was better fitted to write this book; in an age eager for wealth, he was poor; crazy for power, he had such only in his household; longing for landed possessions, he had none; thirsting for immortality, he had hardly achieved fame; morose at the inroads of heresy, he was serene. His book reveals this all pervading serenity. In spite of oncoming old age, he is in healthy animal spirits, and resourceful in adversity; and if he seems but little concerned with the political or ecclesiastical shams of his day, he sees nevertheless something of his own race, a glimpse of his own people thru the medium of books. I think that Cervantes came to see life thru books as men sometimes are led to see nature thru art. Taking his cut from Amadis of Gaul, he proceeded to react against romances of chivalry which he considered baneful and the source of much of Spanish madness, if not crime. He would write a true tale, some day, to shame this lying stuff; he at least would write in harmony with the possible if not the probable, and other books of chivalry would fall an easy prey to his pen. In his varied career as retainer, soldier, public servant, and author, he had grown practical, as you see, but not entirely disillusioned. He loved the tales of chivalry; he enjoyed the marvellous and the mysterious quite as much as the native Spaniard likes it today. What came over Cervantes that made him abandon this long cherished hope, and satirize what he loved? We know only by inference; in his contact with life he had met the world of matter, of reality, of practical morality. He starts “Don Quixote” and Knight-Errantry proves a fallow field for ridicule. He shuns the spheres of direct observation which might lead to dangerous reflections and possible recriminations against the established order. He feigns insanity but speaks very rationally and wisely. His knight is as bold and as sane as any maddon, and, of course, unable to waver from his ethical position. Not so with Sancho! “Squire” Sancho Panza is a startling person, a simple serving man, a devoted companion, our living glebe! His good-humored retainership is the most happy find in literature, and rescues this book from being a mere variation of the Picaresque novel.

Cervantes, nevertheless, imitates the Picaresque novel and the Romances of Chivalry he ridicules. The chapters on the "Captive," for instance, open like the Picaresque novels generally. "Don Quixote" bears the same features. Sancho Panza which is often called an irruption of realism in a pure work of the imagination, had worthy antecedents in Spain—without, however, so wholesome and contagious a materialism. Imitation with Cervantes is neither a literal obsession nor a neutralizing force; it is reminiscence rather than memory. This fact enabled him to play lightly along the dubious paths of parody and to transmute unawares much of the baser materials of his vernacular into precious literature. He admired Amadis of Gaul.¹⁵ And well he might, for the Amadis of Gaul is the most significant imaginative effort in the literary transition¹⁶ from the Middle Ages to Modern times; it was the worthiest book of chivalry and the greatest prose work before "Don Quixote." Cervantes, it is evident, fused in his masterwork all the chivalry of the Amadis for his Don Quixote, and all the roguery of Lazarillo de Tormes—and other rogues, for his Sancho Panza, the extremes of idealism with the extremes of realism in the same picture.¹⁷ Now, this admirable Amadis of Gaul, of indefinite authorship, but attributed to Lobeira, is said to have originated in Portugal.¹⁸

But Cervantes was probably not conscious of his indebtedness to the Portuguese. The dead have no proprietary rights in literature; the living only few; and Cervantes, as we shall see, woke up to his only on the brink of the grave. But this is not to our purpose except that it shows that "little" Portugal was once a force in literature, even in Spanish literature. Ariosto, Tasso, and many others¹⁹ borrowed from Camões, the Quixotic author of the *Lusiads*! Portugal, it must be remembered, had its golden age of Romance with him, before Spain, Italy, France or England had theirs. Indeed, "Don Quixote" has served to perpetuate not only the memory of much literary lore, but particularly the fame of what it intended

15. Cf. the English translation of Robert Southey, from the Spanish version of G. de Montalvo; 3 vols., London, John Russell Smith, edition of 1872. For the Spanish translation of the Portuguese original, cf. The "Rivadeneyra Library"; Romances of Chivalry.

16. The Amadis of Gaul is more modern than medieval in construction and characterization. It was translated into the leading European languages, and in Spain alone it had twenty-two editions from 1510-1587.

17. I find a partial parallel to my thought in John Garrett Underhill—Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors, page 372; the Macmillan Company, published for the Columbia Press, N. Y., 1899.

18. Cf. A. Loiseau, P. 55, Histoire de la Littérature portugaise; Paris, Ernest Thorin, 1886. Cf. also Southey, Preface of op. cit. in note 5; "The romance of Amadis of Gaul was written by Vasco Lobeira, a Portuguese, towards the close of the XIVth Century."

19. Loiseau, P. 221, op. cit. in note 18.

to obscure, the Amadis of Gaul. "Bien des gens," says Professor Loiseau, "ne le connaissent que par Cervantès; la parodie a donné à l'oeuvre la vie au lieu de la mort. Si personne ne lit plus l'Amadis tout le monde a Don Quichotte."²⁰ This shows that books of chivalry like Amadis of Gaul were still widely read by the educated, talked about among the countless illiterate, and believed by all.

Anyhow, chivalry as an institution was lingering only in books and these were demoralizing the individual, his home, his land, his life. They so exalted the unreal, and endowed the remote with so much charm that they decentered the average Spaniard. He ceased to be practical, if he had ever been so; romance was a national obsession; love was already an excuse for lechery; bravery for murder, wit for rascality, freedom for license. He would not pay for food or lodging and altho the innkeeper believed firmly in the chivalry read to him, he believed not in impecunious knights of flesh and bone. The innkeeper believed in giants well enough but "Don Quixote" must settle up with cash for the beheaded wine skin. Everyday life was so honeycombed with magic, enchantments, charms, miracles and unrealities as to make liars of the senses, a dupe of human reason, and unfit men for this mundane sphere. . . . Poor illuded, stubborn Spain; its lack of fitness to see the truth, to rule itself or lead the world is fundamental. Qualities other than hers are required to guide men or control the earth. The Arab, whose wont it is to fold his tent and silently steal away, reached the Spanish shores in an evil hour. He mingled his cultured blood with a barren, exalted breed, only to be discredited and spurned without mercy by this fanatical, intolerant, and bull-fighting²¹ Christian. The Spaniard has fared accordingly. In his dash for glory, and renown, his native thirst for immortality in the days of discovery and conquest, I often think I see the last glow of the Moorish Crescent cooling in the far-off Americas and finally going out! And Spain is hunger-stricken²² in the midst of plenty; Spain is idle²³ in a world of great commercial opportunity, which England eagerly seizes. . . . A close student of Spanish society in Cervantes' day has it in a nutshell; he says of the provincial gentleman of that epoch: "L'hidalgo vit chichement sur un lopin de terre, oisif et glorieux. Glorieux, car il est

20. Ibid, pp. 53, 54.

21. Bull-fighting is, like religion, only habitual in Spain. It is not an instinct; it is due to cultivation and education and it is nation-wide.

22. On Spain dying of hunger—tho the greatest wheat country in Europe—cf. Hume, P. 373, foot-note, op. cit. in note 5.

23. Hume, op. cit. in note 5.

beau de se sentir noble, oisif, car it est déshonorant de travailler."²⁴ The proof of national improvidence is complete: is there in modern history a more thoro or swift national decay and a more saddening spectacle than Spain's colonial failures and actual dispossession? . . . And Sevilla sleeps; its turreted docks and ebbing river banks are silent. Only an occasional ship sights the Golden Tower with cornelian stealth. . . . But Sevilla may waken. Its cathedral and bull-ring, serpentine streets and carpet-hung thorofares, its white Moorish fronts and red cascaded roofs, may yet start at the name of Cervantes, and his call for patriotism. And, then, the gay old city of plunder and privileges may shake off its lethargy and its lone streets echo once more with the martial tread of the conquistadors! And these will conquer at home, usher in the new order, question the national aversion to progress, and cease living in isolation. America will hail the new resurrection. For Spain lives in her exiles of twenty nations,²⁵ and its world dream is rounding into coherence. Indeed, great national revivals are at hand. New Italy is risen, and already in conflict with its traditional foes. New Spain is preparing to follow France and Portugal. The great book under discussion may here play an important rôle. . . . And it must, if the Spain of Galdos, of Ferrer, and of Canalejas, heed the deeds that never die tho the generations come and go! New Italy sprang out of Dante and his "Wonderful Vision." It dignified its political program with its bold patriotism. New Portugal took flame from Camões and his "Lusiads." New Spain may yet woo and win fickle political fortune with Cervantes. His delectable "Quixote" was written for Spaniards. For it was not the literature of the day which was mad, it was the people reading it. Thru his book Cervantes ultimately meant to reach Spain, not books. Such a conclusion is inevitable if we reach thru the book to the soul that created it.

Cervantes, before Dickens, foreshadowed the new order, the proletariat. His great work is classic and of the past of course thru "Don Quixote" and his "Kighthood"; but it belongs to our times thru Sancho Panza, the symbol of democracy. The civil status of the people had gone by default as elsewhere in Europe, thru centuries of ecclesiastical enterprise. And the Spanish people lay buried in

24. A. Morel-Fatio; *Etudes sur l'Espagne*; I. P. 337, Ch. V. *Le Don Quichotte envisagé comme peinture de la société espagnole du XVI et du XVII siècle.*

25. The first Pan-American Congress met in Mexico City, in 1901. Cf. the "Boletin" of the South American Republics, published at Washington, D. C., for the reports, plans, and programs of the Pan-American Union.—*Bulletin of the Pan-American Union*,—Official organ of the Union of American Republics, Washington, D. C. Illustrated.

history for seven hundred years. Cervantes sounded a first reviving note in his "Numancia."²⁶ But in spite of its enthusiasm, Spanish patriotism lay stone-dead in the spell of church altars. His "Numancia," tradition says, was a literary clamor in the field of history, an exercise in the classic fiction of ancient Rome, with so much rhetorical warmth as to once kindle action and heroism. . . . Once, is not a whole failure. But his "Numancia," it is agreed, is not the living prose of "Don Quixote." The play in verse is not on the democratic plane of a "squire" about to rule "Barataria"—without patriotism! . . . For even "Don Quixote" breathed his heroic day oblivious of political liberty, as an abstract idea or social principle. Sancho, his convivial squire—as little conscious of Spanish patriotism—frets over his home, not his country. It was the wisdom born of prudence and experience. Cervantes, like the Spaniard of his day, takes Spain for granted, and the world as a matter of course; too much so perhaps to inflame the patriots of New Spain, leaderless and landless! What if a splendid racial egotism without roots in native soil once made him a Spaniard at home on the globe? What if this romantic Spaniard, long envied and imitated abroad, subdued empires for the Friars? It was good for old Spain, but not for a rising Spain, imbued with new thought. The odd citizenship of "Don Quixote," contagious in achievement, impervious to ridicule, oblivious of defeat, is perhaps too much charmed with haunting security and idle placidity, to overcome social inertia and economic stagnation. But it was only the part of discretion. Nor would the Spaniard of that day have sensed Lessing, who owned fraternity with mankind, regardless of nationality, or creed, or landmarks. Cervantes was always a Spaniard and a Faithful; to him the world belonged; over it, he roamed its law-fiver and final judge, like Don Quixote!

26. (a) *Numancia*,—a play, Translated by I. Y. Gibson, London, 1885. —Another translation in French is given in Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire*.

(b) *Théâtre de Cervantès*, by Alphonso Royer, 1862, 12 mo.

—Speaking of the "Numancia"—not given in the *Rivadeneyra* of 1864

—Ticknor says: "It awakened and still continues to awaken patriotism." "With Cervantes the hapless Numancians are Spaniards." Cf. P. 126, Vol. II, *Spanish Literature*, 3 vols., Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1882.

—And Fitzmaurice-Kelly, after rating the exaltation of Ticknor—whom he accuses of condoning the bad technique of the "Numancia" as a play—says: "First and last, the play is a devout and passionate expression of patriotism; and as such the writer's countrymen have held it in esteem." Cf. P. 225, *Spanish Literature*, D. Appleton & Co., N. Y., 1898.

—And Larousse, in the *Grand Dictionnaire Universel*, rehearsing the critiques of his day, pronounces this play—written about 1584 (and published only three hundred years later:—"L'un des plus beaux du Théâtre espagnol." Cf. P. 1158—art. *Numance*. In this article are given the old verdicts of Sismondi, of Schlegel, and the judgment of Ticknor—so warmly berated by Fitzmaurice-Kelly, quoted above. The old critics, especially under the influence of French models, believe the *Numancia* a good play; others, a bad play; but all agree on its fine patriotism.

And much of this world is still Spanish and much of its virgin soil still belongs to the denizens of "Barataria," land for Don Quixote to give and for "Sancho" to rule! What an alluring field for the waking patriot and what tempting work for the student and the scholar, the economist and the statesman! They, too, are contributing to the national revival; the movement for nationality and democracy is largely their work. In this time of need, their duty is no longer purely academic; they labor to transmute feudal blood into modern work, and social position into popular education. Perhaps the time has come when the "Cervantes-Saavedra"²⁷ may knit hands with the "Dante-Alighieri"²⁸ for Latin concord and unity!

It was an inauspicious day when early Christianity blazed the way to heaven for a people without sufficient native stamina, enough of the instinct of self preservation and individual dignity to react, even in time, against the zeal of its material priestcraft and imbecile royalty; nor indeed, able to rescue from these its rights to national existence and terrestrial subsistence! But the book is a little broader—more philosophical as it were; it deals with the dupery of men, the old humanitarian fraud exploited by the church, the old judicial pretense executed by the State! "Men are like Sancho," says Ste-Beuve;²⁹ "they whet their native sagacity on some folly in which they half believe, as a grinder his knives on stone." Most men indeed sharpen only upon contact with much of our useless and antiquated hardened social organism. Like Sancho, they stick to, and believe in this silly order of things, to the extent of a third or fourth of it, just enough to keep it alive, especially if baited unto adherence with some interest or humoured with a promise of reward; the bribe of fame or of eternal life, an office, a sacristy, or a speakership, or an "island," as in this case. And when Sancho obtains the governorship of his long coveted island he governs apparently as wisely and effectively as any of the governors of his day—men he had seen—crafty, irrational, incapable, ignorant, selfish, haughty, and dissolute—the creatures of kings. But the pages of Cervantes on government are little quoted nowadays; he says nothing of our burning municipal problem or of methods of government; even less on reform tho he prate, thru his Sancho, of justice, right, etc., in subtle parables; and

27. The writer has in mind "La Cervantes-Saavedra—Sociedad Internacional hispano-Americana"—with a program much like that of the "Dante Alighieri Society" of Italy.

28. La Dante Alighieri, Società nazionale per la diffusione della lingua e della cultura italiane fuori del regno.

29. Ste-Beuve—Nouveaux Lundis, VIII. Reflexions on Don Quixote, P. 33, Calmann Lévi, Paris, 4th edition, 1885.

I have no hesitation in saying that if he did he would hold—in spite of his own administration of Barataria—the old aristocratic argument that the people need bread, not votes; work, not constitutional amendments; money to pay house rent, not referendums; clothing, not recalls; employment, not initiatives—representatives, not direct election by the people—and modern literature would once more gasp at this criminal indifference or supine ignorance of popular government and its claims! But to Cervantes, government was an art, not a science.

Thru the net-work of alternately literary and artistic currents there runs a live undercurrent of social concern and philosophical interest. Cervantes' famous book thus combines social with literary endeavor. His book is imbued with the spirit of modern things; there is not as in Rousseau,—who lived his own life but wrote for posterity,—a constant out-cropping of the great modern traits; still his book is live writing. His satire of the literature of chivalry bespeaks a revolted mind, actuated by rational motives. From the point of view of literary art his book is an advance over his contemporaries. *Don Quixote* looms up gaunt, inalterable, immaculate, thru the author's thousand pages. . . . Sancho Panza, gross, matter of fact, seeking, and loquacious, is a worthy squire to a most worthy knight. No one but Cervantes, it seems, could have created two such figures, endowed them with life, to say nothing of verisimilitude, and let them wander with such ease—not in the wastes of *La Mancha*, but thru the treasures varied and often delicate of his great book. . . . But *Rocinante* was sure-footed, and *Dapple* a wise Donkey. Moreover, this book is remarkable for naturalness of speech and simplicity of construction. There was need of it. Think of the men, women and things which constitute Cervantes' world. A patient man has reckoned six hundred and sixty-nine personages—without a villain among them.³⁰ You must not be deprived of the pleasure of making their acquaintance yourselves, and pass on this villain question! But the book has the additional interest due to international influences. Spain had long been in political relations with Italy. Hume speaks of these in no uncertain terms: "Most of the impetus in art and literature had come from Italy, which country was closely connected with Spain by common allegiance and constant intercommunications in war and peace. Spanish soldiers, traders, officials and adventurers, were al-

30. On the personages of "*Don Quixote*," cf. P. 241, op. cit. in note 11. The book of Cervantes does not preclude villainous people. The absence of a full-fledged formal villain in "*Don Quixote*" only shows that Cervantes was not a conventional dramatist or novelist.

most as familiar with Italian as with their own tongue and, on the other hand, Spanish was the fashionable language in most of the Italian cities."³¹ And Morel-Fatio speaks no less truly: "Cervantes est avant tout un disciple de l'Italie; un élève enthousiaste de celui qu'il nomme le divin Arioste (Galatea, livre VI). Ce maître lui a enseigné avec certains artifices de style, le procédé qui a fait sa force et sa gloire et dont vit le Don Quichotte; l'ironie, aimable, enjouée, presque indulgente, l'opposé de cotte ironie froide, cruelle, accablante des premiers picaresques espagnols. Cervantes est tout pénétré d'Italie."³² These are illuminating words on the relations between Spain and Italy at this time.— Nor should we overlook in the style of Cervantes the influence of the "Amadis of Gaul," which is the sturdiest literary antecedent in the evolution of "Don Quixote." These relations and influence crop out betimes in the work of Cervantes. The reader of "Don Quixote" presently finds himself confronted with names and products of Italian literature. Echoes of Tasso's *Jerusalem Liberated*, a witching epic; enchanting things from Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*,³³ a mad pendant to "Don Quixote," but another entrancing court epic; pages of pastoral literature, the next human literary foible that Cervantes would have ridiculed³⁴ had he lived long enough; and other borrowings from Italy of interest mainly to the connoisseur unless perhaps we except the "short stories" in the first volume. There are various opinions including that of Cervantes in the second volume, regarding their literary merit, composition and introduction into the body of the work.— Here they lie, like the Italian palace of Charles V, among the Moorish towers of the Alhambra, tolerated with the tolerance of oblivion. This, at least, is the feeling of dismay which overtakes the traveler who first climbs the storied road to the Alhambra. I know of no like violation of taste except the belfry of the Giralda—another conceit of Charles V, which in its hybrid make-up lacks the force of the Florentine "pugno," on the ducal palace. Cervantes has knitted these short stories and their Italian life to his purpose but, with too little gain of substance

31. Hume, P. 404, op. cit. in note 5.

32. Morel-Fatio, pp. 375-6. op. cit. in note 24.

33. Cf. *The Orlando Furioso* of Ludovico Ariosto, Translated into English verse by Wm. Stewart Rose; 2 vols., London, George Bell & Sons. Translation finished in 1831.

—For a good discussion of "Roland Furieux," cf. the excellent book of M. Henri Hauvette; *Littérature Italienne*, Ch. V., pt. II., pp. 227-246 (Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie Française) 2nd éd., A. Colin, Paris, 1910.

34. Cf. *Les Deux Don Quichotte—Etude critique sur l'oeuvre de Fernandès Avellaneda*, Paris, Didier, Nov., 1852,—Opuscule by A. Germond de Lavigne, translator of the *Celestina* of Rojas, of the *Tacaño* of Quevedo, and of Avellaneda's "sequel" to the "Don Quixote" of Cervantes.

and too large a cost to his art,—in interest, suspense, and unity. Their interpolation affords here another comparison and a few reflections. They stand in relation to the purely Spanish work of Cervantes as the restorations of the Alhambra to the same art in the palace of Peter the Cruel. It is the art of a different people of the same race. But it speaks a staccato more pronounced in a tone less mellow; the light of the Alcazar is less soft and the whole breathes an atmosphere less intimate. For this Italian influence, read the story of "Cardenio"; and then follow the life of the "Captive." Altho both are wrought with care, you feel no effort of style in the latter, the running text is always more loose and also more largely constructed than that of the short stories. These interpolated recitals invariably seem more artificial tho they are more artistic. Their language and—as the French call it, their feature (technique)—is more studied, compact, and stilted, not to say stiff. It may be justly observed here that what Cervantes makes up in style (largely under Italian influence), he loses in taste and force (largely under that same influence). Nor am I able to account for this artistic heresy in spite of the labors of Bennett³⁵ and others on literary style and taste. That he can be meticulous, however, many of his works reveal, as well as most of his "Second Part," or sequel to "Don Quixote." And that these foreign borrowings do not fit like square pegs in round holes is due to sheer art in Cervantes. Still, they lack his native freedom, his spontaneous, rambling style, his direct and large sweep of the pen, the unadorned and vigorous exposition of the iconoclast!

It is fortunate for these interpolations that the book of Cervantes is simple in construction. Indeed, no book could be simpler. The work is complete in two volumes, or parts,—separated, historically, by the lapse of many years, and philosophically, by the weight of many cares. . . . Why this Second Part? Why this long silence? Why this new stand if not a literary subterfuge? . . . Surely not merely for artistic fulfillment!— Was the message of the first part incomplete, uncertain, unconvincing? . . . If so, the reader is little served by the sequel! Why this grudge at Avellaneda—unknown and unfound—with feints and thrusts, and strange parleys with men-at-law? . . . Have we not here the new madness, and "Quixstiz" and "Panzino," their new sheepfold and new pasture—with all the wolves thrown off the scent? . . . But, enough of conjecture! . . . The first part shows what is done;

35. Arnold Bennett, "Literary Taste and How to Form It," George H. Doran Co., New York.

the second tells what happens. The first is dynamic—direct, real, unadorned. The second is static and slow—and much of it is fantastic pastoral stuff,—not the conventional Italian pastoral of the day³⁶; and, to vary the monotony of virtue in those blessed times, each part contributes an occasional low story, or a facetious anecdote. The first part of "Don Quixote" is in the vein of literary farce—the blows received are exaggerated, the threshings numerous, the moods intensified, the conclusions indifferent. The animals to which master and servant have entrusted their wills, are rather conspicuous. The personages are real. Heroic deeds crack on the doughty knight's bones or armor; the events are probable, altho bound up with lowest elements of Spanish society. The bookish ideal and the earthly real crash mightily. The wary Quixote shuns human habitations and human comforts, and nature lends its dash of color in a life lived in the open wilds of LaMancha. . . . I say "lends" because Cervantes is of his age regarding nature; he is out in nature but not with nature, its moods and essentials; there is no special reference to the air, the sunlight, the sky, in their vital significance. Cervantes' feeling for nature was perhaps more wanting than unrealized. In any case, his expression of nature is conventional, if his Sierra Morena be taken as an instance. It is inadequate, for the modern student, at least, and of a card-board complexion which strongly suggests the stage-art of his day. The wild splendor of the Sierra, its cumulative power, did not invade his artistic consciousness if it moved his soul at all. Schiller would have done better tho of course more happily served by the imagination of his time. In this matter, however, Cervantes may have yielded to the manner of the day. The vogue was Italian; it is found in the treatment of those subjects felt to belong to Italian letters and art: as the treatment of nature largely stereotyped by the pastorals of Italy. This same influence it was that we felt more especially in the short stories interpolated by Cervantes.

The Second Part, or sequel to "Don Quixote," introduces the principals to the rascals of high life—with a corresponding change of environment. Cervantes now proceeds to show the need of a new society. The atmosphere has changed; life and events are staged as in a comedy; the book is less real but more artistic, more compact and literary; the actors are more sophisticated and have more lucid moments. Don Quixote accepts shelter, comfort and leisure, and Sancho grows more conventional and cultured from experience and

36. M. Lavigne holds that the "sequel" of Cervantes is largely and unwittingly pastoral in atmosphere. Op. cit. in note 34.

social contact. But such experience and such contact! It is a most incredible phase of Cervantes' work. Poor human victims, of design and craft!— But, even here, the humorous vein is rich, and nothing is more shrewdly conceived than Sancho's penitential lash (diverted by him to neighboring trees) in expiation of his master's folly and imaginary wrongs.— It is the craft learned in the school of life. . . . The school of life gives experience, to meet experience; it lends to the understanding a practical sense of the isms exploited by countless charletans or obscured by the ruling few. This school of life does not arm the soldier's tongue for the scorn of position, the abstractions of theology or the obtrusiveness of dialectics, . . . nor the boor's with subtle wisdom. . . . Nor is this part of "Don Quixote" difficult to understand. In spite of his desire to subtilize and theorize, Cervantes is clear. It does not demand more historical knowledge than the other part to be read with profit by the average reader. A large reality still pervades the book; its external symbolism is intentionally merged with mock internal mysticism, a combination exceedingly subtle and bold in the artistry of his day. But Cervantes here succeeds admirably; he accomplishes the unteachable thing; the miracle wrought in the execution of this great work; he fuses matter with style and leaves us to marvel at that external question of style solved with off-hand alacrity by the practical genius of our day.

Another feature of the second part, not intended to be humorous, is Cervantes' literary wrath at Avellaneda, the harmless writer of a "sequel"³⁷ to "Don Quixote"; he was so bold as to poach on Cervantes' preserves long enough to "see thru" the "Don Quixote" in its second part. From the 59th chapter to its close, thru 14 chapters, the cynical "theft" and impertinent claims of Avellaneda haunt him and disturb his wonted equanimity. And yet, it has been shown³⁸ that Cervantes actually copied this much reviled "Continuator"; that Cervantes was even surpassed³⁹ by Avellaneda in the execution of the "logical" sequel or second part to "Don Quixote"; and that behind the pseudonym lay not a "boor" but a well-intentioned gentleman⁴⁰

37. The Sequel of Avellaneda may be found in its native idiom in "Novelistas posteriores a Cervantes,—M. Rivadeneyra, Vol. XVIII of the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Madrid, 1852, pp. 1-115, double column; a literary curiosity, if of no other interest now.

38. This opinion is reached by Professor A. G. de Lavigñe after a close study of the two originals, P. 37, op. cit. in note 34.

39. About the respective merits of the two sequels, cf. chs. III, IV, and V, Lavigñe, op. cit. in note 34.

40. Concerning the identity of the writer of the Avellaneda "sequel" and the name of Dr. Bartolome Leonardo de Argensola—Aragonese, (1564—), cf. Ch. II., pp. 27-30, op. cit. in note 34. Regarding the "Avel-

and a scholar—the belated ire of M. de Ste-Beuve⁴¹ to the contrary notwithstanding. But this is a long story, the closing chapters of which belong, I fear, to posterity. The controversy, fortunately, cannot deprive us of the sequel of the one or of the other; and, as the world would be poorer, you will agree, without a sequel of any sort by Cervantes, we owe it in truth to Avellaneda. Tho it accelerated its completion,—there are signs of haste in the closing chapters of the book, it compelled Cervantes as no other thing had, to publish this second part, a promise of long standing and in the case of some of his works, never fulfilled. This brought his wonderful career practically to an end. “Don Quixote” had been in the making for thirty years, an old man’s book but abundantly nourished and singularly well balanced, for its author was now at peace with the world. Yet, latter day wizards have sought to read into it much political, ecclesiastical, and social symbolism, or diabolism, going so far as to pronounce his Lady Dulcinea del Toboso a subtle grind on the virgin Mary; but there is nothing in this, altho mariolatry and other forms of idolatry are rampant in Spain. There is nothing so subtly symbolical in Cervantes’ great book, men having at all times idealized the young woman, if not idolized her outright.

Many other wonderful claims are made for its genial author but all quite as futile. . . . Cervantes’ book, I repeat, is the last of the books of chivalry; it rehearses by reference all the others; it discredits these works of imposture on the credulous, their charlatanry, their science of magic, sorcery, astrology, and enchantments. It ridicules their view of life with deeds passing wonderful but probable, out-does with native Spaniards both mad and sane the unearthly prowess of enchanted foreign knights. It ruined, not the institution which was dead, but its baneful lingering idealism, its out-of-date dogmatism, and pretended public utility. Tho still essentially literary and not yet a transcript from actual life, this note of the probable, to say nothing of the possible, makes Cervantes’ book the first modern book in Spain, in spirit, in purpose, if not in contents. Its naturalness of speech and contagious satire made all other Spanish books ridiculous. Spain was a rich field for satire; it is still open to satire, and most hopelessly

laneda” Sequel, the “Rivadeneyra” editor, Don Cayetano Rosell, says that the real author of this sequel is not known; 3rd note, P. 1 of Rosell’s preface to the imitation (1864); also P. XXX of Vol. I., vida de Cervantes. Note that these Spanish editors of the Rivadeneyra do not accept the conclusions of M. de Lavigne, arrived at twelve years before.

41. Ste-Beuve, P. 29 of op. cit. in note 29, squelches M. de Lavigne for his “Don Quichotte de Fernandès Avelleneda”—Didier, Paris (translation named in footnote to P. 29), and bitterly criticizes Avellaneda for his erstwhile impertinence! Truly amusing in M. de Ste-Beuve!

in need of it, modern, wholesome, cogent, regenerating satire. And yet, I doubt if Spain is much farther traveled on the road to reason; in spite of Don Quixote's bruises, his moments of lucidity piercing thru the national dementia, the Spanish character has not been phased. Cervantes endowed his heroes with too much human sympathy to challenge reflection and effect regeneration,—the Spaniard is "Quixotic" still and is not ashamed. Cervantes' work is more like a vindication of the common Spaniard seeing ideals with native clarity, but uneducated or educated falsely, a victim of his institutions, of antiquated systems, and of men who by the most questionable methods have for centuries deliberately converted the means of social emancipation into a national self-complacent inertia. These motives are most apparent in modern Spain; out of 19,000,000 (in 1900) people, only one third today know how to read or write; out of eighteen provinces, only one is industrially significant; its few consumptive railroads have only succeeded slowly to drain the rural districts and congest the stifling city. And yet this social massing at vital points may open a new era for the Spanish people coming as it does under the spell of the political agitator and the popular socialist.⁴² For even the instinct of self-preservation has made the people resourceful in the face of intolerance and obscuratization. Withal, the work of Cervantes survives. "Don Quixote de la Mancha" remains a diversion as amusing to the unsuspecting Spaniard as to the wary world. It is, unobtrusively withal, full of moral significance and great in human interest. It did its work unerringly against ridiculous literature; to have coped with life more effectively, to have struck at Spanish institutions more vitally, would have required the laughter of Molière, the pen of Voltaire, the imagination of Rousseau, the critical sense of the French revolutionist. To have done it would have required a different aim in XVIth century literature, in Spain, and a different purpose in Cervantes; writing in those days was largely a society or court diversion, the cultivation of an art, and only incidentally a public utility or a humanitarian instrument. That Cervantes had ideas on the pompous rhetoricians of his day you will find delightfully shown in his prefaces and in the body of the work.

In reading "Don Quixote," you will need to be patient; you will find that Cervantes nods like the great epic poets, a fond characteristic of literary greatness. But you will be pleased to find your objections anticipated, for when the interest of the story begins to flag,

42. For the movement of Spanish life to the city, cf. Havelock Ellis,—*op. cit.* in note 11 (b)—Introduction, P. 3.

Sancho frets and wants to go home. Can you imagine more fatherly solicitude for the child of his brain or the "dear gentle reader"—whom Cervantes always addresses in witching prefaces full of delightful intimacies, freshness, and candor?—And the mirth,—and the fun,—and the proverbs! . . . Not the least inviting phase of "Don Quixote" and withal characteristic of Spanish books, is the matter-of-fact, common-place philosophy of Spaniards, as revealed by their proverbs. They spring uninvited on every occasion, with Spanish self assurance and self sufficiency. They constitute the hearsay science of a stagnating people, the argument of the ignorant, the obsession of our modern bromide. These snatches of self-evident truth are interjected deliberately in "Don Quixote," often, indeed, clothed in irony and seldom without a tinge of malice or wit. But the remarkable thing in Cervantes' book is not their inoffensive and sententious casual occurrence, but inordinate recurrence and accumulation by Sancho.⁴³ Don Quixote is astonished at Spanish proverbs and fears some evil end for Sancho. He would that Sancho might better heed things—his counsels: "Hear them and remember them—these good counsels." But Sancho cannot remember special admonitions.* Charged to keep silence, a cruel restless ordeal, he breaks out again and again, and without warning, into veritable fits of loquacity. Then Sancho is in his glory. By the time we go with him to "Fraudville,"—his "Island" of Barataria—these orgies of bromide have become so automatic and impressive as to stand him in stead of genuine administrative sagacity. . . . Still the greatest legacy or contribution of Cervantes to the stock phrases of the world lies in the word "Quixote" itself. When we speak of a Quixote notion, a Quixote enterprise, or Quixote scruples, we know or think we know the flavor. . . . As for Sancho, he lives;—he lives! I have heard him on the jetty of Algeciras, expostulating with his donkey, cork-laden from the groves of Andalusia. I have watched him in the still hours of the breaking day remove the traditional stones balancing his burden of cork, as if the humor of the world had never questioned his rare good-sense in piling stones on a donkey twin-packed with precious cork! I have met him on the Roman bridge in Cordoba, muttering as he passed his "Vaya Uste con Dios"† . . . oblivious of my interest in his sturdy indifference! He had not read M. Rostand's poem⁴⁴ in which, in good

43. "Yo to aseguro que estos refranes to han de llevar un día á la horca." II., Ch. 43.

* De que han de servir si de ninguna me acuerdo?

† God be with you.

44. Cf. note 1.

romance, he deplores the naturalism of Sancho and his advent in the world of polite letters. But he well knew,—as I inferred from his hapless independence—that Don Quixote his old master . . . had died!!!

With all this, I have not told you the story of the celebrated and discerning Knight of LaMancha—of his problem with the sheep; his self sacrifice in other fierce encounters; of Lady Dulcinea del Toboso and her elusive ladyship's subtle metamorphoses; of the good squire Sancho and his efficient retainership in the three sallies of his impeccable master; I have refrained from analyzing the racial qualities of Rocinante and the mute resignation of Dapple—who, except for their occasional outbreaks of horse-sense, are silent witnesses of the human comedy enacted by their respective masters. I have not told you of the excellent precepts, and the sensible dissertations which abound in this wonderful book, but this is not my purpose. I would have you read the book. A first hand and a larger acquaintance with "Don Quixote," its genial author and his fallen land, will awaken a new interest in literature, increase our knowledge of human nature, and make world-wide our sympathy for mankind.— And yet, "Don Quixote" has the defects of its qualities, . . . as the goldsmiths say. In this age of vogue and of the ephemeral, it is enduring; in this age of adulteration, it is unalloyed; in this age of dogma and of ready-made programs of action, it is inconclusive. Conceived in an age of foreign imitation, it is real; produced in the full of the Renaissance, it has little of that epoch's artificial aim and pretentious style. Nurtured in a land of repression it flowered not *out*, like Shakespeare, but *in*,—with all the misgivings of a soul longing to be free. It has rather the national complexion of its Spanish life. But, Cervantes, tho distinctly of his times, touched many of the problems of our own; yet his great book has nothing truly constructive, nothing wholly destructive, and nothing about scientific or rational living; only craft to meet craft, harmless analysis and moral retrospect. This may account for the life of this book in Spain; it may account for the life of Spain today. Cervantes was not an ideologue but a practical thinker, without the social perspective of Rousseau. He was too much a creature of memory and of books, like his "Don Quixote." And yet, in its retrospective phase, a large phase in the sequel, "Don Quixote" staked much of its claim to enduring fame. "Some men live their romances and some men write them. It was given Cer-

vantes to do both."⁴⁵—Rousseau built upon his, and the world still learns from him. But neither sounds a note of the actual for us, if the light of a modern message on "time," for instance, be flashed across their peaceful quires.⁴⁶ Time, hitherto, had been viewed as dawn-dusk for fame to bask in. Now, a ruthless modernism leaves a chasm for all comment on the books of yesteryear. Ours is life on the rock-bottom of a positive age. What can it use of the past? To bridge across the contemplative gap separating Sancho Panza and the "Social Contract" no less than the French Revolution was needed. Since then many a social tempest has been irrevocably engulfed. How can it borrow from the past?—The great ethical abstractions like justice, honor, and mercy are coexistent with life itself, and with the dawn of society. If there is any evolution, it is so only in degree, or relative to time and clime,—and in the practice of these. With rare exception the literatures of the world have been for the elect and of the elect; and since the beginning of time, the craft has prated of virtue and ideals in pretty romance and lulling fiction. There is little, before our day, of writing in terms of energy; the old literature is not made of such practical "stuff"; nor are the essays of Bennett written for the dawn-dusk of another day. Great literature is becoming more incidental to large purposes than it was in Cervantes' day! But even so, "Don Quixote" is more than fine writing; yet its theme is conventional except perhaps in his sympathetic treatment of Sancho. The sordid traffic of his age had not passed into literature, either. And yet it was the day of commerce and booty; the Golden Age was aglow with the glint of American gold and drenched with the blood of continents. It was glorious with the Spanish idealism of the times in terms of force, the faith, or extermination. For the Spaniard was a confirmed idealist, tho of wrong ideals. His institutions stimulated his imagination and his zeal; they gave him the incentive to preserve that ideal at any cost, even of reason, thru life, and regardless of experience. This is modern, withal. Whatever else the astute Don may do, he always and inalterably holds the viewpoint of preserving his self-respect to himself and of showing his better qualities to his neighbors. He thus met the efficiency test in the education of his day. It didn't matter what occupation he chose,—(there is no radical vocationalism or work in the education

45. James Fitzmaurice-Kelly's—*Lectures Given in America*, edited as "Chapters on Spanish Literature." A. Constable, London, 1908.

46. Cf. P. 16—"How to Live on 24 Hours a Day," by Arnold Bennett; W. Doran & Co., New York.

of Don Quixote); Spanish blood, a shrewd wit, and ideals, and forth into the world he went!!!!

Cervantes is an idealist, too, in his contemplative view of woman. His Dulcinea del Toboso testifies to his belated cult of Dante and Beatrice. Her immaterial futility and personal nonentity outreach the bounds of his native satire. Man fulfills in his struggle with earth, in his commerce with men, in his winning of woman, and in his conformity with nature,—divinity, immortality, and other delectable speculations to the contrary notwithstanding. But, tho stamped with literary dilettantism, the book of Cervantes is rescued from the worst features of this ism,—over-feminization. As in the life about us,—and without fatalities, there are many women in this great book. Yet, it is a strange counterpart in the evolution of literary forms that “Don Quixote”—one of the first great novels of modern times,—should have no heroine; whereas the novel of to-day has elected her in particular. But, what if Marcela, Dorotea, the princess Micomicona, Altasidora, the countess Trifaldi, the duchess of , and his own peerless Dulcinea del Toboso do not make up a heroine! Would they, in the world of his daily observation? Nor can romance, I venture to say, ever forgive Cervantes this bit of unchivalry and cynicism! As for Sancho’s wife, Teresa, pathetic in her ignorance, and clothed in homespun, poverty, and native patience, she is too elemental and sane for pretty rhetoric. She is the Spanish race-force; she is the native hereditary stock; she is the one abiding and genuinely great strain in the Spanish blood—the common strain. “Don Quixote” is thus curiously enough a man-book; there is no woman in the net-work of the book so great as to affect the personal destiny of the romantic “Don.” The hero is not, as in Goethe, finally absorbed by the ever impending female:—“das ewig weibliche!” It is a curious anomaly, which here is of interest chiefly because of the recurrence of the same phenomenon in the literature of the day. M. Rostand’s latest hero also emerges from the traditional order of things in romantic literature, to answer the call of another destiny, not nature but culture; which altho wholly artificial, is not only real to him but actual, entrancing, heroic! She, poor creature of fate, nonetheless artificial for being real, the creature of man and of his order, does not emerge from the conventional frame of books; she does not transcend the limits of her life even at the expense of her own identity, at least not in Chantecler! “Chantecler” emerges from the traditional toils of life and love and sex, to pursue the light of day and the glory of the world’s work! As if labor were the

end of man, and living only an incident of time! Heroic fustian and Quixotic Chantecler; is not Goethe nearer nature than Rostand, romanticist and idealist tho he be in this with Cervantes? . . . Verily, "The nonsense of one age becomes the wisdom of another."⁴⁷ But it were vain to sound the modern note in "Don Quixote" for good or for ill, were it not for such manifestations of vitality. At all times, the influence of this Spanish classic abroad has been felt, if countless borrowings, from translations in many tongues be good evidence. These translations, all more or less faithful to the original, continue to spread its humor and contents. There are bits of "Don Quixote" in Shakespeare.⁴⁸ Traces strongly appear in Fielding and other novelists; indeed, its influence in England lasted in a quaint, satiric vein,—Cervantesque or picaresque, as late as "Dr. Syntax" and "Mr. Pickwick." This influence is found in French writers from Scarron to LeSage.— They owe much to Cervantes' genial and ready cooperation. Dauder's hero faced his lion. . . . Other writers of our own day owe him no less. Jean Richepin has staged his wonderworld; and M. Rostand, with racial intuition, once exclaimed:

"Je l'ai lu,
Et me découvre au nom de cet hurluberlu."
—*Cyrano de Bergerac*, Act II, Sc. VII.

Ultimately, I do not know that the author of "Don Quixote" aimed at resucing philosophy, science, and much less religion, from the theological discipline of the times. He has few philosophical generalizations; his manner is perfectly analytic. He discusses neither principles, nor systems, nor personalities. He airs few opinions; he rather offers abundant materials on the factors at work in the social operations of his day. It must be remembered that Cervantes was not a student but a soldier, discriminating rather than critical, not a constructive thinker but a musing philosopher; tho a university man, he was not a learned pedant but a man of letters—in a new acceptance of the term,—a writer of polite literature, with a moral aim as the censorship of the times has it. However, it cannot be denied that in the things of the mind (weighed by intelligence) he favors free inquiry and open research, champions inde-

47. Bracebridge Hall, illustrated by Caldecott, "A Literary Antiquary, by Washington Irving, P. 79.

48. Cf. *España Moderna* (March, 1911), for a readable general article by James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, on "Literary Relations,"—which touches on "Don Quixote," its author, and Shakespeare;—"Relaciones entre las literaturas Española y Inglesa," por Jaime Fitzmaurice-Kelly.

pendent judgment and free will—as far as such was possible under the Inquisition; he holds for the authority of human reason, and of the animal life. At his best, the interest of Cervantes is more bound up with things than with ideas, with social intelligence than with philosophy. Unlike Dante, who sees better than he thinks (for Dante thought in the abstract terms of medieval philosophy), Cervantes thinks better than he sees, however paradoxical this may seem. He is Spanish tradition personified in its metaphysical nullity and had little commerce with speculative thought. No; he was not like Dante—of whom Paléologue says: “Sa pensée aime à évoluer dans le monde suprasensible en dehors du temps et de l’espace, dans le domaine des réalités absolues et des vérités premières.”⁴⁹ Cervantes would not have appreciated, perhaps not understood, the speculations of Dante, the scientific curiosity of Bacon, or of Galileo. Cervantes lacked the speculative faculty and the sense of esthetic abstractions. He entertained no misgivings as to the relative and the absolute; he knew however the personal problem of daily living. Of time and space, not a word; on being and destiny, no new thought. Cervantes was a psychologist in his own way. He was little concerned with destiny since that bulwark of speculative thought had passed from philosophy to religion. In the medieval alembic, destiny had become fumes which the sixteenth century Spaniard presently transmuted into fame, . . . or theological smoke! . . . In the realm of thought, the church had always looked with a jealous eye upon the inquirer, the innovator.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the author of “Don Quixote” was thinking but his thinking was actuated by the more immediate concerns of modern living. The father of “Sancho Panza,” tho of his times, announces the present day sociologist.

Altho he says little of the leading institutions of his day(and for a cause), it requires no rare penetration to discover what Cervantes thought of the Spanish government and of the Romish Church. Cervantes substitutes the native shrewdness of the unwashed Sancho for the perverted statecraft of the gilded courtier. About the church, unprogressive and parasitic, corrupt without hope of reform, “Don Quixote” is reticent. Divided between his allegiance to the state and his allegiance to the church, his interest and prejudices on one side and his interests and superstitions on the other, Cervantes dis-

49. Cf. pp. 248-9—Maurice Paléologue's *Dante; Essai sur son caractère et son génie*, 3rd edition, Paris, 1909.

50. Cf. *Castilian Days*, pp. 47-48, by John Hay, quoted by C. F. Thwing in “Universities of the World”—The University of Madrid. The Macmillan Company, 1911.

cerned that the church might not long remain the center of life in Spain and that with the advent of modern science no enlightened society (except perhaps in America) would again nucleate around a religion. And it is a striking illustration of the intolerance of the older generations for the progress and changing view point of the new that Cervantes is not Spain's national hero instead of "Don Quixote." But this was a delicate and burning question in Spain. It is still arming the nations of the earth. So many of the things that really matter and so many of the worthy aims of life are bound up with this instituted superstition that it behooved the writer and thinker to proceed with caution. Cervantes did so; the fact that his great work ignores the church as a Spanish institution proves how much he discredited its pretenses. Only a survey of the literature following "Don Quixote" shows how much of this old fustian he brushed aside and how much more of it remains. . . . No; Cervantes was not Dante, altho like Dante at unguarded moments. The Spaniard holds a lower plane of idea, fortunately perhaps for the people of Spain. Cervantes' book was long the only source of homely good, in a bigoted and dogmatic land. To this day it supplies the average Spaniard with native sense and mother wit. And for this, it could perhaps afford to hold nothing of the mental activity of its age—its science, its invention, its industry, its trade, its history, its knowledge,—and deal only with its book-Romance and its ruinous social madness.

Withal the "Don Quixote" of Cervantes is not a universal book altho its appeal is quite general. Like all the great books of the world, it is essentially unmoral—so far as advocating any definite system of living is concerned. Its materials are welded into an instrument intended to exhibit conduct struggling between character and institutions. And it does this so effectively, so abundantly, and with so keen a sense of the humor of a discredited nature, social and physical, as to make it a matter of indifference to the average reader that Cervantes' "Don Quixote" did not compass the whole of mental activity, the whole of social perversity, or the whole of natural stupidity!. . . .

I conclude with a few helps on reading "Don Quixote." They may not come amiss; for, as this good book has it,—no wise structure can forever stand on a poor foundation. . . .

—"Mas sabeel necio en su casa que el cuerdo en la agena."

. . . *

"Don Quixote," Vol. II, Ch. XLIII.

III

"DON QUIXOTE" should be read at thirty, says M. Mazel, an omnivorous reader of France⁵¹ in a curious book entitled "What to read in a life time." Cervantes should be read along with Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe, Calderon, Rabelais, Montaigne, Voltaire, Rousseau, Moses, and Plutarch. . . . These constitute his second period of a reader's life,⁵² between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five!

I cannot resist quoting⁵³ in M. Mazel's simple French three passages of more than passing felicity: 1. He says of the book: "Don Quichotte est un des chefs-d'oeuvres de l'esprit humain; l'enfant y rit aux éclats, l'homme y sourit pensif; et le vieillard revient s'y réchauffer en se frottant les mains." 2. Of its language and its ready mastery (for a Frenchman): "le text original est préférable encore . . . ignorât-on l'espagnol . . . dès le troisième jour on devinera presque tout, et dès la fin du mois, on le lira couramment, Faites-en l'expérience vous-mêmes, si vous n'avez pas appris la langue qu'il faut parler à Dieu"!!! And of the greatest significance for the average reader of "Don Quixote," he then adds: 3. "L'oeuvre de Cervantès est si lumineuse qu'on peut se dispenser de lire un de ces guides critiques qui sont si utiles pour Dante, Goethe, et Shakespeare." . . . I am glad to have Monsieur Mazel's corroboration in things so pertinent; and I hope that if the materials which follow do not fit his texts to the letter, other wayfarers in the Quixotic world will rise up, as in Dante, to bear witness to my observations.

I. No one, I trust, approaches "Don Quixote" in the attitude of mind requisite for the "Divine Comedy." Each of these masterpieces of literature was a man before it was a book, a life before it was a monument, and a human soul before it was a national asset! What I have said regarding "Don Quixote" must have revealed as much;—a life allegiance and a life preparation, to meet a life,—no less, is the requisite in the realm of great works.

* The fool knows more in his own house, you will agree, than the wise man in another's—Proverb 43 of Ormsby's collection—Appendix I.

51. Henri Mazel,—Ce qu'il faut lire dans sa vie, pp. 104 ff; Paris, Soc. du Mercure de France, M. C. M. V. I.

52. Op. cit.—Index lists.

53. Op. cit. pp. 104 ff.

2. I do not hesitate here to recognize two classes of people in the world of books,—the reader and the student. The great hope of writers like M. Mazel,—and often their one triumph, is to specialize a general reader and to throw upon his brow the burden of the student. He will then read "Don Quixote" in the original and will thank M. Mazel for having once heard of "the language of the Gods."

The student will find Ochoa's,⁵⁴ all in Spanish, a handy one volume edition. Personally, I prefer the David Nutt edition.⁵⁵ I like to read "Don Quixote" in an edition to fit. . . . "There is," as Mr. Arnold Bennett says,⁵⁶ "a distinct moral value in size." . . . Two generous tomes correctly edited—original text, good print, substantial paper—bespeak more adequately the personality of "Don Quixote," than any skilled volume of pigmy size. Nor do I favor a græet edition in cheap array. The "Rivadeneyra"⁵⁷ (Aribau, Madrid, 1846), tho a national monument indispensable to the student of Spanish literature, is not booked as it deserves. Its taste is wrong, and its use is not inspiring in spite of its august scholarship! Nor was the Rivadeneyra intended for the export trade like the Spanish books of our own publishers. The Rivadeneyra is a national misfortune, not a business crime. Our American houses,—caterers confessedly to the South American market, have done little better⁵⁸ for the reading people at their mercy in editions of the great ancestral hero. Nor is it meet that I can lean more heavily than Burton Holmes on the "Quixotics" of American business today!⁵⁹ If the

54.(a) Don Quijote, Ochoa edition, with a prefatory essay (1852) on Cervantes' life and writings, pp. VI-XL, by George Ticknor, author of the History of Spanish Literature, etc. . . . D. Appleton y Compania, N. Y., 1853. An American edition reprinted until the type is somewhat worn; all in Spanish; one volume, 12 mo., listed as No. 76 in Appendix III, of Ormsby's Translation (Crowell).

(b) Another American edition, all in Spanish, in two volumes, is that of Lee and Shepard, with the "Prólogo" of Clemencin,—Notas históricas, grammatícales, y críticas, por la Academia Española,—sur individuos de número Pellicer, Arrieta, y Clemencin,—a rather noted Spanish commentator of the old school, Boston, 1867. Possibly a reprint of Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1866. A convenient edition but little better than other worn American editions.

55. T. y C. Constable, Edinburgo, Impresores de Cámara de su Majestad; David Nott, publishing editor. Londres, 1898.—This valuable edition was prepared by two modern scholars, the late John Ormsby and Mr. James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, who wrote the Introduction, pp. XV-LVIII.—Mentioned in the latter's short History of Spanish Literature—Bibliographical Appendix.

56. Mental Efficiency—Books, the Physical Side; P. 75, George H. Doran Company, N. Y., 1911.

57. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, M. Rivadeneyra, publishing editor, with the assistance of the Scholars of Spain. Madrid, about 1864.—Contains nearly 100 volumes in large 8mo size.

58. Cf. Ochoa, note 4a, P. IV., Advertencia (1865).

59. "With Burton Holmes—Thru the Land of Tomorrow," pp. 11-12, Ladies' Home Journal, February, 1912. The Curtis Publishing Co., Philadelphia.

somewhat archaic forms of the original hinder the student's progress, an edition for schools may prove a good introduction to this classic. Parts of it have been carefully edited and annotated—the ever fascinating story of Cervantes' captivity among the Turks,⁶⁰ and his wonderful escape—quite authentic;—the alert, opening chapters of the first sally⁶¹—immortal chapters; and as much more is in promise as in store.⁶² American scholarship is on the wing. To the lull following the initiative of Ticknor in Spanish, Longfellow and Norton in Italian, and Lowell, also in the modern languages (it is odd to think of these literary lights as professors in Harvard College) has succeeded an epoch of varied scholarship, of vast editorial undertakings,⁶³ and of live, literary criticism. This intellectual production bids fair to outlast the present day. The younger scholars, too, must forth to their laurels; they crash into wide-open doors, according to a great French savant,⁶⁴ but it is the American way, and they reach the field.⁶⁵

The specialist, interested in sources and influences, fond of research or controversy, and able to read several languages, will find articles in the learned and popular periodicals of the literary world. The work of the Italian Garrone is attracting attention. He has taken "Don Quixote" for a series of studies of no little interest to Italian and Spanish readers;—while tracing its course to Italy he deftly cleaves the lucid madness of Don Quixote from the murky wrath of Orlando,⁶⁶ in the work of a Paduan,⁶⁷ he finds the delectable story of the "Rival Asses," strayed or stolen from Cervantes' "Don Quixote" (Part I) . . . on a brief excursion into Sicilian epic poetry with Meli of Palermo, he meets Sancho now disciple of Voltaire.⁶⁸ . . . No, not all emprises could the great Manchegan exe-

60. *El Cautivo*, an Episode from "Don Quixote" (part I, Chs. 39-42), edited for Schools by Eduardo Tolra y Fornes; D. Appleton & Co., 1905.

61. Selections from Don Quixote (more especially the "prologo" with opening chapters of Part I.; edited for colleges by Prof. J. D. M. Ford, D. C. Heath & Co., 1909.

62. Part I of Don Quixote, long promised by Professor Todd, is eagerly awaited. The "Novelas Ejemplares" of Cervantes, are in the press.

63. Professor Ford, tireless editor and scholar, is at work on a Spanish-English Etymological Dictionary, the first of its kind in American Scholarship.

64. M. Paul Meyer,—*Comptes Rendus*, Romania, 1906, giving an estimate of the work of our universities.

65. Cf. *The Romanic Review* (U. S. A.) in its fourth year; it deserves special mention not only for its important bibliographies, but also for promising articles on Spanish and Italian subjects. Published by the Columbia University Press, New York.

66. "El Orlando Furioso" considerado como fuente del "Quijote," by Marco A. Garrone; *La Espana Moderna*, pp. 114-144. Madrid, March 1911.

67. "El Asno poema heroico-comico de Carlo Dottori y El Quijote," por M. A. Garrone; same review, pp. 60-73, August, 1911.

68. El "Don Quijote" Siciliano y el "Don Quijote" Español, por M. A. Garrone; same review, pp. 132-153, September, 1911. The Sicilian title is "Don Chisciotti e Sanchu Panza," P. 135, foot-note.

cute, nor be anticipated by him. Other times, other heroes of the Quixotic Guest. New times require new chapters, and new materials are tempting. . . . So thought Meli of Palermo. The world, said Emerson, is always waiting for its poet; society, history shows, has always hailed a new jester. America, leaning now on Sancho, now on Quixote, is creating an immortal work on its "Mighty Hunter," like France her "Tartarian," Mexico its "Don Peon," or modern Germany that "Hoch der Kaiser" king of Professor Knatschke's!

3. M. Mazel is right. The way to make the acquaintance of an author is to read him, in the original or in translation,—and without commentary! But, curious readers, not wholly unsuspicious of local allusions, and other "indiscretions," will seek the counsel, or the direction of those who, since its inception, have lived much with a great classic. There are intimate recesses to a book; they open only at the sesame of the elect. It is a pleasure, moreover, to exchange notes with writers who have visited the monuments of literature;—some have left us their impressions, others their wisdom; a few have made discoveries, a fact, a thought, an overlooked detail, things slight and light, but each a boon to the student. Amateurs or artists, poets and musicians, scholars and explorers, seek a new reality or open new vistas. Their humblest gift is worth having to show the attitude of mind or the artistic spirit in which each has communed with the genius of the great. But the introduction to a great book should be private, and "Don Quixote" has had the suffrage of a world of readers, and thinkers, and critics! "Don Quixote" should be first read without vademecum, in the splendor of one's best years, in the privacy of one's own mind. . . . As when first seeing the Alhambra, a talkative guide is hardly heard for the wonders offered the eye, so is the reader too engrossed with Cervantes' world to heed cicerone, or critic. Yet, the time comes when you willingly fare over your footsteps with a friendly help or a critic's eye. You linger absorbed in each detail or scrutinize each learned remark. Many a pilgrim to Cordoba has wandered thru its magic mosque, as thru a maze of mottled arches and stained columns, only to issue forth hungry for the tale of each bloody shadow in this coercive shrine. . . . Then, the light of high noon dispels the alluring mist and compels the genii of obscurity to yield the secrets of its architectural charm. So with a great book; unless the commentary be seasonable and reasonable, the forest may not be seen for the trees, the mirific text for the notes, or the arabesques on the outer walls of the Cordovan mosque for the medieval plaster of a bigot hand!

But, if the student of "Don Quixote" may dispense with learned commentators from Averrhors⁶⁹ to Clemencia, he may not wisely eschew historians. It is essential that he know something of Spanish society in the days of Cervantes to understand its power and glamor, its economic order and national temper, its laws, institutions, and customs. The fearless historian has laid low many a live bogey and resurrected many a long dead truth. I have sought his aid in my own work for the contrast between the book lore of XVI Century Spain and the awful reality of the nation's bloody sway. There is no better way to test fact and fancy, the old insistence of romance over reality, and the ethical nullity of Spanish letters when Cervantes took up his pen. In these pages, as you know, I have often invoked the help of Hume, and Kelly,⁷⁰ of Clarke,⁷¹ and of Lea. In them, you will find, I suspect, the ultimate *raison d'être* of "Don Quixote"! Now, history is severe work. The reader who does not borrow his opinions, but forms them for himself may yet care for good writing outside of formal history. He will be unconsciously edified and often refreshed in spirit, if he thirst for the best things, by those who have left imperishable works on the hospitable margin of the master's canvas. We have the priceless essays of Woodberry,⁷² Ellis,⁷³ and Kelly⁷⁴; the somewhat aged but large work of Schlegel and Sismondi; of Philarete Chasles,⁷⁵ and Puibusque⁷⁶; the reviews of Mérimée,⁷⁷ and Ste-Beuve; the able critiques of Morel-Fatio and Martinenche, of Menendez y Pelayo, and Menendez Pidal; the trans-

69. The XII. Century Cordovan commentator of Aristotle, named here facetiously.

70. James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *A History of Spanish Literature*, D. Appleton and Company, New York and London, 1910. Ch. IX., pp. 227 ff., interestingly discusses "Don Quixote" and its author. Cf. also the art. Cervantes prepared by him in the recent edition of the *Britannica* (1911).

71. H. Butler Clarke, M.A., author of "Spanish Literature," an elementary handbook, London, Swan, Sonnenschein & Co.; The Macmillan Company, New York, 1893;—Cervantes, Ch. XIII. This work early directed my attention to Spanish literature. His long awaited *History of Spain*, completed before his death, has just been given to the public.

72. Cf. *Great Writers*. I—Cervantes, pp. 3-39. The McClure Co., N. Y., M C M VII. This book contains a series of well-nourished essays by Prof. G. E. Woodberry, of Columbia University, dean of American critics and the father of many of our younger American scholars and writers.

73. For his excellent study of "Don Quixote," cf. ch. VIII. Besides the Introduction, Chapters II., III., and XVI., are the most thought-compelling in this noteworthy book. Havelock Ellis: *The Soul of Spain*; Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston & New York, 1908.

74. Cf. note 70.

75. Chasles, Philarete, *Works*, Paris, 1847,—another entrancing critic of the old school.

76. Puibusque, Adolphe de, *Histoire comparée des Littératures Espagnoles et Française*; 2 vols., Paris, 1843. Old, of course, and written before the "document took the place of endless argument."

77. "Portraits Historiques et Littéraires" by Prosper Mérimée, art. Cervantes (1826), pp. 1-55. Paris, Calmann Lévi.—Contains readable materials with interesting side-lights. Note especially what is said of the "Buscapie"—a prospectus or "dodger" which Cervantes is said to have gotten up "to get a footing" as it were, on the book-market (P. 33), and which gave "Don Quixote" its vogue, according to Mérimée. This "Buscapie" was once a thing eagerly sought and discussed by bibliophiles.

lation of Ormsby⁷⁸; the illustrations of Doré, and Vierge—to be surpassed only by Dulac, or some inspired “Cubist”; we have a drama by Richepin,⁷⁹ an opera by Massenet,⁸⁰ the celebrated poems by Ros-tand, an occasional lecture⁸¹ a casual short story by a coy neophyte; mount have been devoutly followed, and no travel⁸² is in vain in—opinion, judgment, comment, poetry, music, art, what humble prism is not aflame at a touch of the great light? The early haunts of Cervantes are visited, the sierra explored, and the tracks of his lank this dear land of the Romantic Guest! Withal the old and the new linger side by side. A latter-day exploit of “Don Quixote,”⁸³ tho a clever exposition of the most sordid traffic of the sentiments, is only a modern version of the Quixotics of the old “Spanish Fraud.” . . . And, as if to repeat history, a serial portion of the “Adventures of Nick Carter” follows close in the same periodical after the style of the first edition of “Don Quixote.” If not on a fool’s errand in old Spain, the modern Don Quixote remains on the hacienda of his ancestry;—a versatile American found him recently as “Don Peon de Mexico”⁸⁴—unaged and unchanged in the heart of the Sierra Madre!

I close with a page of memoranda—brief “Catalog of Ships” that freight the burden of this great book:

Volume One

Don Quixote learns presently that matter exists, that a battle is two-sided, in its victims, at least. He finds that Spanish maidens do not wander about unaccompanied and in radiant virginity, up to their eightieth year. Odd discovery, indeed, in the land of the “reja” and of the “dueña” and still the home of chaperons and barred windows! The ladies of the coach are certain that their noble rescuer has learned his chivalry from a book; they cannot at once follow his

78. Cf. Title-page of this article (*).

79. Jean Richepin.—*Don Quichotte*; à la Comédie Française, Oct. 16, 1905. Paris, Charpentier et Fasquelle, 1905. This delightful drama in verse is full of the glee and go of the original. But M. Adophe Brisson, —*Portraits Intimes*, Vol. II., Paris, 1896,—thinks that the play should work out the philosophy of “Don Quixote” rather than its incidents.

80. “Don Quichotte,” an opera by Massenet, first given at the Casino of Montecarlo, early in 1910.

81. “Don Quichotte, Sancho et Nous,” a lecture by M. Edmond Haraucourt, pp. 253-271, *Journal de l’Université des Annales*, Paris, Feb. 25, 1909; with illustrations.

82. “Spanish Highways and Byways,” by Catherine Lee Bates; The Macmillan Co., N. Y., M C M.

83. “Lapostolera Salida de Don Quixote,” by Luis Anton del Olmet, pp. 3-13, of “El Lector”—*Magazine Mensuel de Cuentos Cortos*, Ciudad de Mejico, 1912.

84. “Political Mexico Today,” by Frank Nason, in *Yale Review*, pp. 586-600, July, 1912.

meaning. Don Quixote and Sancho Panza show that when they depend on the social habit for justice, and other living common places, they are normal and sound. The goat herds do not understand chivalry talk either. They stand amazed at the speech on the "Golden Age." The need of some acquaintance with the Italian Epics, to understand "Don Quixote" now dawns upon the reader; some knowledge of the Italian Pastoral also is useful. The discourse on Arms and Letters (Ch. XXXVIII) reveals that the famous autobiography of the "Captive" (Chs. XXXIX—XLII), and the notable enchantment of Don Quixote follow betimes among the lavished treasures of the first part. The point of the pen is capped with the steel of the sword; that all the institutions of peace are backed by the profession of arms!

Volume Two

The retrospective and introspective nature of the leisurely sequel of Cervantes leads to the suspicion that the spring of this mighty work broke during the lapse of years. But the second part is nonetheless rich in materials. The reader will become conscious of a change of social environment; he will now meet the rascals of high life. There are indications that the polite society of Spain used bad oaths. Don Quixote shows the hot temper of the Spaniard in evidence throughout his book; even our fearless knight is uncompromising, has not the conciliating spirit of the true reformer. The poor vie with the rich in the national thirst for power. Cervantes now turns to elegant writing; he talks over, reviews, or recalls the tales he has told in his first volume; but all his art cannot overcome the reader's objection to so much time, and ink, and copy, and energy spent in waiting for inspiration. Then idleness breeds quarrels; Spanish punctiliousness makes Cervantes disputatious—have priests a right to offend? But this is dangerous ground for a layman, and particularly so for a writer of mere literature. It is much safer to philosophize and moralize than to inquire or criticize. Watch the puppet show (Ch. XXVI) but don't break the puppets! Watch your writing—watch your manners—we are launched now on a veritable manual of good breeding and of good government for the prospective mayor of Barataria! The sin of digression—characteristic of part I is now censured in part II. Then come fine things on poverty; on usurped titles; on eating; on the devil; on freedom; on omens. I might as well have given another hundred pages to Sancho's "Book of the Courtier"! A pastoral entertainment interrupts the grave monitor

who presently resumes on the fashions at court; on truth telling; on love. Here, Cervantes comes to life again to spite Avellaneda! And Don Quixote goes not to Saragossa; he spurs incontinent for Barcelona!!!

But this spur to action is a mere will o' the whisp; a lucid mind betokens a purposeful life and the old hero was trained in another school. He plunges back into the madness of books. His dream of chivalry is over; he has exploded it, and himself with it; but he cannot live without a dream. The pastoral folly of the times is ready to change the meddlesome knight into a sighing shepherd . . . and Fate would have started him anew, had not merciful death vetoed this new resolve.

Theme Recurrences in Poe's Tales

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EDGAR ALLAN POE was a rough-rider of hobbies. His avid, active mind enthusiastically kept abreast of physical and psychical discoveries, and as enthusiastically converted them into story material. In his tales, we find him making use of the same idea four, five, or even six times.

Almost every writer has his pet themes, some of which he has used more than once. Poe's distinctiveness in this respect is, therefore, only one of degree. The degree, however, is so marked, that a few observations may not be out of place. It shall be the endeavor of the present paper to trace a few of the more striking theme recurrences.

The cause for these thought-repetitions might be the subject of some speculation. Do they indicate that, after all, this facile writer lacked ideas, and that he was forced to borrow, if not from others, from himself? Those who have more deeply sounded the depths of Poe's genius may not be satisfied with this explanation. On the contrary, they may prefer to believe that the Fordham tale-teller, while developing an idea in one short-story, was further enkindled by his own glow. They may contend that the fecundity of his invention was not satisfied with one aspect of a given physical or psychological problem; but that, on the contrary, before the first story was completed, there had already germinated in his fertile brain the nucleus of another—perhaps of many others.

Among physical phenomena, Poe had his favorites. Premature burial perhaps holds first place. There are no fewer than six instances where his characters refuse to stay buried. *The Fall of the House of Usher* and *The Premature Burial* deal seriously, and in the former story tragically, with the cataleptic aspect of the problem; the author employs it again in *Berenice* as an important element of the climax; in *Loss of Breath*, the treatment is jocular; while in two others, the grisly subject is given passing mention.¹

"Aerostation" also interested Poe considerably. He uses it five times, most strikingly in *The Unparalleled Adventure of One Hans Pfaall*. In this bold tale, Poe makes convenient use of an apparatus by which the empyrean atmosphere is converted into air

1. **Some Words with a Mummy** and **How to Write a Blackwood Article**.

fit for human inhalation. If we are willing to posit such a condenser, the story is excellently wrought out. *The Balloon Hoax*, a briefer sketch, has for its plot the crossing of the Atlantic on a dirigible. *Hans Pfaall* and the *Hoax* have two paragraphs very closely alike in language as well as in thought. Hydrogen does not so greatly pervade the other three.²

Poe's imagination swam as well as soared. The reader will no doubt immediately think of the Maelstrom story, to which may be compared the *MS. Found in a Bottle*. Similarly, a water chasm ends the hero and the *Narrative of A. Gordon Pym*. Indeed, between this last and the *MS.*, there is another strong resemblance; for Pym's hieroglyphics and the other story's ancient and mysterious crew, with "strange iron-clasped folios, and mouldering instruments of science," equally suggest forgotten Egyptian explorers.

Landscape gardening cheered a somber epoch of his life, and formed the basis of three stories. Two of these are especially similar, entire paragraphs being identical.³

Recurrences are also noticeable in the narrower themes. The unusual idea of covering human beings with tar and flax or feathers in order to disguise them as orang-utans, appears twice;⁴ and two others have as their nucleus the gradual, measured approach of deadly steel.⁵

Poe's dream studies contain a number of echoes. This is especially true of *Ligeia*. The emphasis laid on her eyes suggests the teeth of *Berenice*; merged in another personality, like *Morella*, whom she resembles also in depth of intellect, she returns from the grave; and, finally, a comparison may be made with *Eleonora*, for in both the widower seems consolable at first. There are three angel dialogs staged after the destruction of the earth.⁶ The entrance of Death or Pestilence into a chamber containing secluded revelers is employed twice.⁷

Poe's satires do not present so many specimens of parallelism. he has two savage *exposés* of literary quackery, perhaps somewhat acidified by his own experiences.⁸

2. *Mellonta Tauta*, *The Angel of the Odd*, and *The Thousand and Second Tale*.

3. *Landor's Cottage*, *The Domain of Arnheim*, and *The Landscape Garden*. The striking resemblance is found between the last two.

4. In *Hop Frog* and *The System of Doctor Tarr and Professor Fether*.

5. *The Predicament* and *The Pit and the Pendulum*.

6. *The Power of Words*, *The Colloquy of Monos and Una*, and *The Conversation of Eiros and Charmion*.

7. *Shadow—A Parable* and *The Masque of the Red Death*.

8. *The Literary Life of Thingumbob, Esq.*, and *How to Write a Black-wood Article*.

What we moderns call "graft" is the subject of two others. It would seem that this department of human endeavor, which he terms "an exact science," has made but little advancement during the last half-century.⁹

In his best stories, those of mind, crime, and conscience, there are some remarkable repetitions. The trance of a dying man is the theme of both *Mesmeric Revelation* and *The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar*. The former, however, serves also as a vehicle for Poe's metaphysical speculations, aired again in the three dialogs mentioned above, and more fully in what he considered his monumental prose work, *Eureka*. Two others treat of metempsychosis.¹⁰ The kinship between *The Murders in the Rue Morgue* and *The Mystery of Marie Rôget* needs scarcely any elaboration. In both, the author, thru Dupin, indulges in a dazzling display of ratiocination. Professor Matthews and others consider the latter an inferior story, but its merit becomes more apparent when one remembers that it is a true example of *a posteriori* reasoning. The plot of *Marie Rôget* was almost bodily taken from life, and Poe's solution, as we all know, was borne out by a subsequent confession. *The Black Cat* contains a number of details that are encountered again; the betrayal of a murderer by an object buried with the corpse¹¹; the walling up of the victim;¹² and the unaccountable workings of moral perversity.¹³ The death of an assassin from fright when brought face to face with the body of the slain man serves as an important incident in the *Narrative of A. Gordon Pym*, and constitutes the climax of *Thou Art the Man*.

A sufficient number of examples have been adduced, it is believed, to demonstrate this strongly defined tendency of Poe's. There are other echoings, however, both in his articles as well as in his fictions, that will occur to the reader—his gibes at the moralists, his sneers at one or two magazines, and especially his accusations against Longfellow. Let us not dwell on these discordant refrains, which, when compared to what we may in a double sense term his *opera*, correspond somewhat to the troll-gibberings in *Peer Gynt*.

9. **The Business Man and Diddling, Considered as One of the Exact Sciences.**

10. **Metzengerstein and A Tale of the Ragged Mountains.**

11. **The Tell-Tale Heart.**

12. **The Cask of Amontillado.**

13. **The Imp of the Perverse.**

The Modernity of Tolstoy's Religion

ABRAM LIPSKY

WAS Tolstoy an anachronism—a thirteenth century saint living in our own day? Innumerable literary critics have agreed that there were two parts to the great Russian; one, modern and imperishable, the other, atavistic and destined to speedy oblivion. As a literary artist he was unsurpassed, they say, but as a thinker upon social and religious questions he only makes us wonder that a genius of such brilliancy should have voluntarily immersed itself in medieval night. I propose to show that he was, on the contrary, in the lead of the religious thought of his time, and that his practical saintliness, his so-called asceticism, far from being the mere extravagance of a literary genius, was of the greatest sociological significance.

The comparison between Tolstoy and the church saint is obvious but superficial. Renunciation, it is true, played a great part in his life as in theirs. Voluntary poverty, chastity, humility and tenderness, so familiar in the lives of the saints, appear again in Tolstoy's life. But the comparison ceases the moment we go below the surface, for sacrificial and expiatory ideas played no part in Tolstoy's renunciations. If the medieval ascetic chose a life of poverty it was not with any thought of the social value of his action, but solely with an eye to its effect upon his own soul's welfare. His aim was to propitiate God, to purify and strengthen his spiritual nature or to escape from the world. In ascetic Christianity charity "was not essentially a social conflict with the moral evils of pauperism, but a religious conflict with the moral evil of the love of property. The aim was not primarily to lift the poor recipient to social health but to discipline the soul of the giver." This form of asceticism had the same purpose as chastity and other modes of self denial and privation. Tolstoy, on the other hand, disposed of his property and chose coarse fare and hard work, because property, luxury and self-indulgence, he felt, were "obstacles to love" between himself and his fellow men. He, too, wished to "save his soul" and "do the will of God," but "salvation" for him was to be free from all "obstacles to love"; to "do the will of God" was to promote the growth of love in the world. And he saw that as

long as other men labored, in pain and in poverty, to provide the means whereby he lived at ease, the greatest "obstacle to love" lay in his economic and social position. With that perception he took the lead in the religious thought of his generation.

But before going into the substance of Tolstoy's religious thought, let us note the modernity of his method. His was the experimental method; his religion was experience. And this accounts to a great extent for the intense interest with which his religious writings have been received. It was not speculation but life that the author transcribed to his pages. "I always feel in reading his words," says Kropotkin, "that he is possessed of the most *scientific* insight I know of among artists. He may be wrong in his conclusions, but never is he wrong in his statement of data." This power of psychological introspection and this loyalty to observed fact rivet our attention whatever the literary form may be—whether fiction or essay—that he employs.

Tolstoy's "experiment" in religion began when, as a child, he noted his faults in a diary, later to repent of them; and he continued it up to the last moment of his life. It was in progress when as a young man he lived the life of his social set and experienced recurrent revulsions of disgust and shame. How baseless is the view commonly held of two chronologically distinct Tolstoys! In the diary which he kept at the age of twenty-seven he wrote these strangely prophetic words: "A conversation about divinity and faith has suggested to me a great, a stupendous idea, to the realization of which I feel myself capable of devoting my life. This idea is the founding of a new religion corresponding to the present state of mankind: the religion of Christianity, but purged of dogmas and mysticism, a practical religion, not promising future bliss, but giving bliss on earth. I understand that to accomplish this the conscious labor of generations will be needed. One generation will bequeath the idea to the next and some day fanatacism or reason will accomplish it. Deliberately to promote the union of mankind by religion—that is the basic thought which I hope will dominate me." This was a quarter of a century before the crisis in his life—his "conversion." Here as everywhere we note his practical, moral, or experimental attitude. We note it again in his method of testing the value of Russian orthodoxy. He made the experiment sincerely and devoutly; he attended the rites of the church for three years before he became convinced that that hoary institution was a hollow mockery.

The method of experience in religion is not in itself trustworthy, as is sufficiently evident from the numerous examples, in sects and individuals, of its grotesque leadings. In religion, as in science, the empirical method in order to have validity must include the operation of testing. Religious experience has only too often been relied upon and accepted as valid for the sole reason that it has been vivid and strong. Let the experience be of a type hallowed by inclusion in sacred writings, or conforming with a venerable tradition, and it passes muster. Powerful as were Tolstoy's feelings his analysis never rested. His reason had to be satisfied. He had come, he says, in the course of his quest to a point where he "could find nothing along the path of reasonable knowledge except the denial of life; and in faith I could find nothing but a denial of reason still more impossible to me than a denial of life."

He came finally to the conclusion that without faith he could not live; but what does he mean by "faith"? Something very different from what is usually understood. "The intentional confusion of faith with superstition and the substitution of the one for the other," he says, "is the reason for the unprogressiveness of some portions of humanity." The only way to free one's self from this deception is "to understand, that the only instrument which man possesses for the acquisition of knowledge is *reason*, and that, therefore, every teaching which affirms that which is contrary to reason is a delusion." Faith saved him from destruction, but "faith does not consist in agreeing with what some one has said, as is usually supposed; faith is a knowledge of the meaning of human life in consequence of which man does not destroy himself but lives. Faith is the strength of life. If a man lives he believes something. If he does not see and recognize the visionary nature of the finite then he believes in the finite; if he understands the visionary nature of the finite, he must believe in the infinite. Without faith he cannot live." He calls this "faith" "irrational," by which he can only mean that like all our primal instincts it is not logically derived, but, as the logicians say, "given."

How did Tolstoy get this faith? By a sort of contagion, by seeing multitudes of peasants living in toil, suffering and privation (so different from his own idle and jaded class), yet profoundly believing in life, desiring more of it. He saw that if he lived as they did, earning his bread by the sweat of his brow and not as a "parasite," he too would have their faith. He observed, in other

words, the results of an experiment that millions of men had performed successfully—and he tried their way.

At one period of his life Tolstoy himself gave ground for the general opinion that he was a fanatical worshipper of the letter of the gospels. The attention he paid to the exact phraseology of the sayings attributed to Jesus, the deductions he drew from nice verbal distinctions in the gospels created the impression that he regarded "the very words of Christ himself" of final authority. He freed himself, however, from this fascination, which appears to have held him for a time, and made clear that if he valued Christ's doctrine it was not because the doctrine was Christ's, but because he found it true when tested by comparison with the teaching of all great religious teachers and by his own perception of right. Christ's teaching offers "the very same solution of the problem of life as has been given more or less explicitly by the best of men both before and since the gospel was given to us—a succession which goes on from Moses, Isaiah, and Confucius, to the early Greeks, Buddha, and Socrates, down to Pascal, Spinoza, Fichte, Feuerbach, and all others, often unnoticed and unknown who, taking no teachings on mere trust have taught us and spoken to us with sincerity about the meaning of life."

He went further. Morality, he saw, needs the sanction of no individual authority. Christ's personality itself became of secondary interest. He had been reading a book in which the historical existence of Christ was denied, when he wrote, "In this book it is very well argued (the probability is as strong *against* as for) that Christ never existed: The acceptance of this supposition or probability is like the destruction of the last out-work exposed to the enemy's attack, in order that the fortress (the moral teaching of goodness, which flows not from any one source in time or space, but from the whole spiritual life of humanity in its entirety) may remain impregnable."

Not only is moral truth independent of the historical Christ, but it also does not need the *teaching* of Christ, indispensably, for its establishment: "It is terrible to say so(but sometimes I have this thought:) if the teaching of Christ together with the teaching of the Church that has grown upon it did not exist at all—those who now call themselves Christians would have been nearer to the teachings of Christ—that is to an intelligent teaching about the good of life—than they are now. The moral teachings of all the prophets of mankind would not have been closed to them."

Far from being an "early Christian," or even a later one of any commonly known type, Tolstoy makes a clean sweep of the entire Christian theology. "If in former times men could without difficulty believe that God created the world six thousand years ago, that the earth was the center of the universe, that God, after descending to the earth flew away again into the skies, and so forth; such beliefs have now become impossible, because men know that the world has existed not six thousand years, but hundreds of thousands of years, that the earth is not the center of the universe, but only a planet small in comparison with our heavenly bodies, that there can be nothing under the earth because it is a sphere, and they know it is impossible to fly into the skies because there is no sky, the vault of heaven only existing to the eye."

He never slipped back into the Christian position. "Searching for God" alone at first, he tried the method of logical demonstration. The arguments of Kant and Schopenhauer which show the impossibility of proving the existence of God were refuted. He satisfied himself that the "first cause of all" did exist, but the conviction gave him no contentment. Logical proof was not what he needed for life, and again he fell into despair.

Now, if a student of philosophy a generation hence, reading Tolstoy's account of how he finally emerged from his slough of despond and found God, fails to connect Tolstoy's soul experience with the philosophy of pragmatism that arose during the last thirty years of Tolstoy's life, it will be because pragmatism will have passed from the minds of men—which now seems hardly probable. Professor James, in his "Varieties of Religious Experience," notes with approval Tolstoy's definition of God—"He is that without which one cannot live. To know God and to live is one and the same thing." Here is Tolstoy's description of the way by which he came to this extremely "modern" conception: "But then I turned my gaze upon myself, on what went on within me, and I remembered that I only lived at those times when I believed in God. As it was before, so it was now; I need only to be aware of God to live; I need only to forget Him or disbelieve in Him, and I die. 'What more do you seek?' exclaimed a voice within me. 'This is he. He is that without which one cannot live. To know God and to live is one and the same thing. God is life. Live seeking God and then you will not live without God.' And, more than ever before, all within me and around me lit up, and the light did not again abandon me."

Remembering the wonderful keenness of Tolstoy's introspection and his faithfulness in presentation, the importance of this passage for the psychology of religion can hardly be over-estimated. The tremendous grip that Tolstoy's religious discussion has upon us is due to the conviction we have of the authenticity of his report, and the reality of his experience, which was the experience of no ordinary mortal, but of a personality of extraordinary energy both in feeling and in analytical power. Just as in the stage drama, passions and actions are heightened in intensity, and language is sharpened and shorn of irrelevancies, so in this drama of real life everything proceeds more vividly and vigorously than in the lives of average men passing thru a similar crisis.

The "subjectivism" of the passage on God quoted above, we may be sure, was not hidden from Tolstoy. Altho not a systematic metaphysician, he was acutely alive to the distinctions that engage the attention of professional philosophers. His thought of God did not stop where we have left it. He gives it objective content. "God is the universal desire for welfare which is the source of life." "God is that Essence of life which man recognizes both within himself and in the whole universe as the desire for welfare." Again, "God is love," and God is the infinite spirit that impels man to work for "the substitution of union and harmony in place of division and discord." Man's greatest good is to identify himself with God, to merge his individual life in God.

It is not contended here that Tolstoy was a "pragmatist" or a "pluralist." He had probably never heard of this philosophical movement. He seems, in fact, to have been a monist. Admitting, however, the preternatural veracity of the man and the pragmatistic character of the God idea that saved him from despair becomes striking. God, namely, is what he is experienced to be. His methods and his results were pragmatic and few lines of argument tend so strongly to establish the soundness of the pragmatist insight as does a "human document" such as that supplied by Tolstoy.

"God is Love." The initial impulse out of which Tolstoy's religion flowed and expanded was love. Love broke the shell of the happy family life that he had led up to the age of fifty. With this principle, too, he tries in a speculative, imaginative fashion to reconstruct the immortality conception. "One can imagine that what now composes our body, that apparently separate being loved by us in preference to all else, at some period of our past lower life was but an accumulation of beloved objects which love united into one,

so that in this life we feel it to be ourselves and that in the same way our present love for that which is accessible to us may, in a future life, unite all of these objects into one whole being, which will be as near to us as our body is now." He combines the immortality and the love ideas ethically—we may give to our life a deeper meaning by making it a service to men—by merging it into the life of the universe—"this, though little, is sure." In his last years, we are told, he became more confident of a personal life beyond death. This assurance stole, by imperceptible degrees into his mind; yet so wonderfully honest, so truly scientific was his temper, that despite all the longing of his passionate nature he never dogmatized.

The "sin" idea, too, so familiar in Christian theology, becomes transformed in Tolstoy's religion in the light of love. Sin is simply 'an obstacle to love.' The purpose of man's life is to fulfill the will of God, and that will is to increase love in the world. Sin thwarts that purpose. And the only way to escape from sin is by prayer—not in church, but in private, as Christ taught men to pray. A very "modern" and unquestionably efficacious view of prayer!

Tolstoy, like the orthodox Christian, speaks of "saving" his soul. But the resemblance between his conception and that of old-fashioned Christianity is only verbal. In the Church, the means of salvation were distinct from the salvation itself. You believed, or you performed charitable deeds, or you gave up what you most desired, and the reward was salvation—from hell-fire. At its best, with the mystics, the reward was a consciousness of the approval of Christ and mystic union with him, a foretaste of that ineffable bliss that awaited the good man in heaven. With Tolstoy the means and the end were one. Salvation meant nothing but a soul all love, a soul going out in kindness and helpfulness to all men, a soul, therefore, free from obstacles to love; free, that is, from sin.

Not early Christian, or medieval-Christian was Tolstoy's religion, but rather to be placed in the category of "the religion of the future," now not infrequently prophesied among us; the religion that has, in fact, dawned to many eyes. That religion, like Tolstoy's, does not rest upon the authority of a church, a book, or a prophet, but carries its authentication in itself. Every man experiences it first-hand; himself talks face to face with God. In that religion, God is no longer a remote and dreaded potentate, no longer a King of kings; nor is he a magnified man. He is, as Tolstoy also conceives him, the infinite spirit with which man's spirit seeks to be at one. Dogma and speculation occupy a secondary

place in the new religion. Less energy is spent than in the religion of yesterday in defining theological conceptions, and more is devoted to embodying religious inspiration in practice. The new religion is not confined to the churches; it does not express itself in ritual. Those who have caught its light are very often, like Tolstoy, hostile to all existing ecclesiastical organization. They desire not to flee from the world and enjoy eternal life apart, but rather to stay and save it. "We modern men, too, believe in eternal life," says one of them, "but the asceticism is almost drained out of it. We hold that this life is good and the future life will be still better. We feel that we must live robustly now and do the work God has given us to do, and at death we shall pass to a higher world in which we shall serve Him in still higher ways. But in former stages of Christianity the feeling was rather that this is an evil world from which only death can free us; at the best a discipline to prepare us for the heavenly life, at the worst a snare to cheat us."

The Hebrew prophet exclaimed, "What doth the Lord require of you but to do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God!" That blending of religion with morality was the intuition of a solitary seer. The majority of religious persons have probably not yet learned to associate religion with ethics so intimately as did Micah. They are still absorbed in devices for individual soul-salvation by sacrifice and propitiation. Tolstoy's religion is ethics—ethics glorified by religious emotion. And so also for the followers of the new religion is it true that "religion acted out becomes morality; morality thought out becomes religion."

The great social movement of our time which aims to make reality of the theory of equality and fraternity of men may justly claim Tolstoy as one of its most powerful apostles, despite the fact that he vigorously expressed his opposition to the aims of organized socialism. The spirit is more important than the form. The belief in the right of every man to consideration as an equal, as a brother, is the very soul of the social movement which, appearing in many forms, may be described generically as socialistic. The same belief was fundamental in Tolstoy's social gospel. Bearing this in mind, we shall not be too much surprised at the identification of Tolstoy's religion with that phase of the new religion which has been called the "religion of democracy." A subtle philosopher has pointed out that the idea of God prevalent in different types of civilization was modeled upon the contemporaneous sovereign political power. In despotic Asia God was an omnipotent despot; in aristocratic Greece

and Rome, the Gods controlled the destinies of men like a senate of peers upon Olympus. What, pursuing the analogy, should God be in a democracy?

True democracy is still in the making. The transformation is now going on in our social system, and along with it a parallel transformation in religion. The despotic God, "the old man with a bad temper," still lingers, but ultimately he will in all likelihood become as obsolete as the aristocratic legislative chamber upon Olympus. In place of this is growing the thought of God immanent, in us and in all things, and in whom "we live and move and have our being." This conception is not new, but so persistent was the old monarchical idea that when the throne was removed from heaven, omnipotence was transferred to nature. Nature's laws became the angels of the new sovereign. With the growth of democracy the need of an external sovereign in religion has waned. Self government, or democracy translated into religion, is a becoming from within, free-will and God-in-us. The religion of democracy conceives the power to shape man's destiny as residing in himself. Salvation for each one is to labor to bring into existence the kingdom of heaven, which means now what it meant two thousand years ago, a society in which love shall be the law and justice its minister. The religion of democracy is thus heralded by one who may be regarded as a mediator between the new and the old:

"A new religion has taken possession of millions, some of whom call themselves atheists. The working people of many lands have reached a new understanding among themselves and have banded together in an optimism of outlook, a joyousness of spirit and a self-sacrificing contact, such as in the past has only illuminated periods of religious exaltation. The lonely man no longer feels lonely. The doubter no longer is worried by dogma. Within life itself has been found new grounds of faith, new and far-reaching fellowship. The world was never so friendly a spot to the human spirit as it is today. The Hebrew on the threshold of emancipation, the crusader in sight of the holy sepulchre—must have had the exultant expectations, "thrills," as we say, that a glimpse of industrial brotherhood upon a purely human basis is giving millions of wage-earners today."

The new religion fuses with the zeal for the kingdom of heaven and the desire to gain salvation thru removing all "obstacles to love." It is, that is to say, predominantly social. Tribal and national religions have, indeed, always been so, but the common

worship has been chiefly a collective attempt to "stand in" with supernatural powers. It is beginning to be seen that as religion is in its very germ social—first the need of an "other," and then the peopling of the cosmos with other "selves"—so the end and aim of religion is to discover and maintain right relations, that is, peaceful, productive, enriching relations, with that "other" which is to each individual "the mediator," standing between him and the cosmos of "things," namely, the society of immortal spirits. This is the religion for which Tolstoy lived—a religion that has its roots in love, and whose aim is, as he says, to help in "the establishment of an order of life in which discord, deception, and violence that now rule, will be replaced by free accord, by truth, and by the brotherly love of one for another."

But if it be admitted that Tolstoy's religion was of the most modern type, there will still be many who will question the value of the kind of life he chose. We need not here pause to consider the criticism of those who may be conveniently classed as Nietzscheans, to whom religion of every type is matter for contempt. In Nietzsche and Tolstoy opposite extremes are represented. In Nietzsche individualism with all its unmoral, unreligious, unsocial implications reached its frenzied climax, and, by a kind of poetic fitness, if there were no deeper connection, the exponent of that view of life ended his career in a madhouse. But was there any social value in the other extreme position that Tolstoy took—is there any use for the saint in the modern social economy?

We may easily perceive at least two uses of immeasurable importance. It will be admitted that sympathy, or tenderness, is the prime socializing force; and tenderness—love—is the saint's chief characteristic. The extraordinary tenderness of a Tolstoy for the poor and unfortunate among men serves to suggest to the rest of mankind the type of the true "superman," the type of the individual that will prevail in the society that is coming which, we must assume, is to be a society more closely knit and more finely balanced than the present. An example like Tolstoy's draws out in innumerable instances the endeavors of other men to create the type in themselves. Again, Tolstoy's renunciation of property and his belief that every man should earn his living by his own labor, was not, as we have seen, on the same plane of asceticism as that of the old monks, since he was not anxious to appease by sacrifice a supernatural power, but merely averse to riding, as he regarded it, on the backs of other men. It would be hard to over-

estimate in this age of scrambling for possessions, the tonic-value of his example. Here was one who, instead of fighting for more, gave up all he had. The rich and the would-be rich have now before them this figure of a man, magnificent in capacity of enjoyment as in power to do, who found his happiness in freedom from the gratifications that they deem indispensable. Among the educated classes fear of poverty, said Professor James, "is the worst moral disease from which our civilization suffers." The possession of wealth has become the chief sign of merit. Those who have are aligned in hostile array against those who have not. But here comes Tolstoy and surrenders that for which one-half the world is ready to seize the other by the throat. How marvelously the situation would clear up if a considerable number of men saw with his eyes!

Religiousness was but one phase of Tolstoy's nature, say the literary critics. The truth is, his whole nature was rooted and imbedded in religion. Religion constitutes the frame, the unifying principle of his literary work, as well as of his practical social endeavors. Anyone who reads even his earlier stories without feeling the prevailing passion for right living, which was the correlate of his religion, has missed the soul that animates them. He was profoundly religious, but his religion was alive, enlightened, sensitive to the stresses, the needs, the hopes of his time. It spoke a modern language and uttered what was in the hearts of living men. If the accents of his speech recall those of bygone ages, it is only because the primary needs of men have not much changed. He, however, looked forward and not back, and men for some time to come will go to him for the expression of their deepest and strongest feelings.

Literary Value in the Modern Drama

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"The circulation of printed plays has not only increased enormously in the last few years, but it practically did not exist a few years ago."

—Dr. Bostwick.

OURS is a day of insurgency—in politics, in society, in religion, in art. We have found a new basis in pragmatism. Our contemporary literature demands truth to our own times, and the whole truth. A new party has arisen. Walt Whitman's phrase, "To limn with absolute faith the mighty living present," sounds it shibboleth. Tho its formula is far from complete, a new drama has come—that of Shaw and Galsworthy in England, of Hauptmann and Wedekind in Germany, of Turgenieff in Russia, of Brioux in France—an insurgent drama. "Have done with half-gods! With an out-lived Classic, with an impossible Romantic! Give us our own heaven and our own earth—one truer to us today," is its demand. So it has come about in our own times and in our very midst. Blunt realism has entered, and naturalism, to show us our naked souls and the ugliness of our abuses. And so the drama, today, is making as lively a commotion in letters as did ever socialist agitator in politics. What will be the issue? Will the modern stage produce a new phase in dramatic literature? Will the drama once more rise to give us a new era in letters? Such queries the thoughtful ones are asking, timidly but hopefully, on every side.

The drama of today, Mr. George Bernard Shaw pointed out in a letter to the *London Times*, is "literally making the minds of the people today. It is a huge factory of sentiment, of character, of points of honor, of conceptions of conduct, of everything that finally determines the destiny of a nation." And so it would seem, for everybody today goes to the plays, everybody discusses them afterwards. The reviews of the critic are read with avidity, and more and more are the plays themselves called for in the libraries. There has come in recent years a vigorous demand for the printed play of our contemporary stage.

And this popular interest is earnest. John Galsworthy's *Justice* is no sooner performed in London than its poignant message takes effect; a parliamentary investigation is ordered, and there follows a speedy reform of English courts and prisons. The long awaited *Chantecler* is no sooner presented in Paris (that, too, in spite of the flooding Seine) than the crow of M. Rostand's resplendent rooster is heard in every corner of civilization. The details of its initial performance fill more columns of the Paris dailies than the accounts of the city's affliction. For the author had said, "I have put my best brains into *Chantecler*," and the public had taken him seriously. But more, the report of this first public performance, it will be remembered, was featured in the newspapers and magazines not only of Paris, but of Berlin, of Vienna, of London, of New York and Chicago and San Francisco—of every city of any size where things are printed—a triumph of dramatic literature actually became a news triumph.

The play seems to have become a vital thing in the mind of the people. Teacher, lawyer, merchant, preacher, student, clerk—the workers everywhere—are going thoughtfully now to the theater. Because of this an imperial ruler, not long since, felt impelled to withdraw his generous endowment from the state theater of Germany. He recognized in it too powerful an instrument in the hands of a socialistic proletariat. He saw that the drama had come to be a book to study; the playhouse, a school of democracy.

In Denver, last summer, the writer found two stock companies filling suburban theaters two afternoons and each night with a repertory of such sober plays as Edward M. Sheldon's slice of slum life, *Salvation Nell*, Paul Armstrong's sociological problem, *The Deep Purple*, Jules Eckert Goodman's wholesome domestic study, *Mother*, Eugene Walter's psychological *The Easiest Way*—all plays with a message, social, economic, political—plays continually popular because of their actuality, because of their thoughtful consideration of existing problems. The vogue of vapid comedy, of meretricious musical spectacle is being supplanted, it would seem, by a more worthy thing. The crowd, even, has become more discriminating.

An interesting illustration of this came to the writer not long since when George Broadhurst's *Bought and Paid For* came to our university city. (A very ordinary play this by the way, but one which paid its author \$200,000. in royalties within a year.) The writer questioned a clerk who sometimes passes him a friendly "Good morning," concerning the play of the preceding night:

"What did you think of it?" The clerk admitted that he was disappointed.

"In what respect?"

"Well," he replied promptly, "I think the serious part is weak. I liked the comedy. But in the last act, the girl's brother should not have been made to call back the hard-headed husband. He loved her—she was his wife—he wanted her back—he should have been man enough to come for her without being called up by telephone."

As might be expected the writer was surprised. Here was no commonplace opinion. This young haberdasher's clerk had a reason for his point. He was thinking, not only of the problem of the play, but on the problem of the playwright too. Such is the increasingly intelligent interest in drama today. Here is a specimen of the earnest discussion one hears on every side—at the breakfast-table, in the shop, in the street car, in the market-place; such are the significant signs of our times. Edmund Burke's letter to Malone, it would seem, aptly states the case for us of today. "The stage, indeed, may be considered the republic of active literature." Hence comes the question many are asking, "Has the modern drama a legitimate place in literature?" If so, what are its literary possibilities? What will it become in its next phase?

I. PRE-LITERARY DRAMA

But before considering the drama of literature, it may be well to remind the reader of that vaster body of plays not printed in books. He who is fresh in his remembrance of dramatic origins may pass by this historical survey without hesitation. Others will do well to consider the unliterary firstlings thoughtfully.

First, then, let it be remembered that Sophocles and Shakespeare are—to use Haeckel's scientific phrase—but "the last links of long, ancestral chains," and that it is necessary to know "the innumerable older and inferior links" of a wholly unwritten drama if we would understand the place of the highly-wrought literary drama of Shakespeare, of Molière, of Ibsen. The drama, "if we use the word in its widest sense," according to Hirn, is "the very earliest of all the imitative arts . . . perhaps even older than language itself." And Letourneau holds "the simultaneous employment of mimicry, song, speech, and instrumental music . . . the form of esthetics most fitted strongly to impress spectators and actors" in the early ages, "and at the same time to satisfy a very lively psychical want, that of

projecting mental images outward, of reproducing with all the relief of reality what exists in the brain only in the state of recollection or desire. The civilized theater is only the natural development of this opera-ballet"—a primitive dancing and singing together, a crass form, dramatic but wholly unliterary.

All investigators seem to agree that the tendency to dramatic expression is inborn, that it has manifested itself in some form in all the stages of the race history. Undoubtedly action, gesticulation, mimicry came first, and for a long period were made to serve alone; then with the evolution of speech the oral word was called to play its part; and finally after another extended period, with the invention of the art of writing, dramatic expression cumulated in the highly complex form of the literary drama. So we have the three stages: pantomime, recital, written drama. It seems impossible to determine the exact time of the emergence of each of these but it would seem the development was undoubtedly in this line: first mimetic, then oral, and, at last, literary representation.

In all probability we have a clue to this evolution in the pomp of pagan worship pictured in the tombs of Egypt and in the Aztec temples of Old Mexico; in the crude memorials of the Mound Builders and Cliff Dwellers; in the surviving spectacles of the North American Indians—the Wolf Dance of the Arapahoes, the Sun Dance of the Shoshones, the Snake Dance of the Hopis; in the mimetic Bird Dance and the frenzied pantomimes of Igorot Head-hunters in the Philippine Islands; in the Shinto ceremony of Japan; in the ancient rites of India; in the religious dances of the early Greeks; in the symbols of our Christian faith. From the pagan ceremonies of China and Japan have come the ponderous histories—the native drama of the Orient one may see in the dingy Chinese theater in Mott Street, New York, today; from a wild goat-song of shaggy-vestured priests, a rude unwritten form, were gradually evolved the poetical tragedies of Periclean Greece; from the impressive ritual of the Roman Church our English dramatic literature was slowly formed. The Mass, with its blending of symbolic action, scriptural narrative, and antiphonal singing (with its essentially dramatic structure in five scenes—exposition, offertory, consecration, communion, purification) furnished all the elements and structure for the liturgical drama. Then the festivals at Easter and Christmas suggesting living tableaux to illustrate the Gospel story, there grew the great cycles of Miracle and Mystery plays; later came the allegorical sermons of the Moralities, then the emancipated Interlude; and finally the Drama proper, full flowering in a riot of poetry in the plays of William Shakespeare.

So it has been always. Written drama is the outgrowth of an early unwritten, and yet earlier mimetic representation. This must never be lost sight of in drama-study; our highly developed literary drama goes back to this constant desire for dramatic expression; the stage in its beginnings is essentially non-literary, but none the less really dramatic because it is not literary. Between the two, it is sometimes difficult to draw the line. The widely popular *Commedia dell' Arte*, the Italian Comedy of Masks which Molière made immortal in a later day, was mimetic and oral only, unwritten—an improvisation from a bare scenario—an impromptu play of flashing dialog and daring action extempore. Last winter Professor Max Reinhardt's wordless pantomime, *Sumurun*, seemed adequate to tell its passionate tale of the Orient, at least to grip the imagination of surfeited New York audiences with telling effect. Again, the cinematograph pantomimes tell a story with genuine appeal. The genial Joseph Jefferson is reported to have said once, "You may have all the good literature you wish in a play—if it does not interfere with the play's action." This fact cannot be overlooked. Drama is first of all not writing but craft. It is not merely literary, if it is literature at all, but a composite product of actor and playwright, of the mimetic, the oral and the written. It is constructed primarily for an audience in a theater, not for readers in a library. Shakespeare was first of all actor and manager, and he wrote *Twelfth Night* and *Othello* for the audiences of his Globe Theater in London. So, too, was Molière first of all an actor-manager, writing *Le Misanthrope* and *Les Femmes Savantes* for the stage of the Palais Royal in Paris. And these were regarded by their contemporaries not as authors but as makers of plays. Perhaps they were indifferent to the value of their works as literature, perhaps they were unaware of any such value.

II. LITERARY DRAMA

Before examining the two divisions of literary drama, poetic and prose, it may be well to remind the reader of the requirements of the theater.

It must, I think, be admitted that a play may succeed on the stage and yet have no value in literature. I have in mind such plays as James A. Hearn's *Shore Acres*, Denman Thompson's *The Old Homestead*, Clyde Fitch's *Nathan Hale*, Charles Klein's *The Music Master*, David Belasco's *The Return of Peter Grimm*, and Maurice Maeterlinck's *The Blue Bird*—all plays ranking high in the theater but low, it would seem, in literary quality. Yet literary merit alone

does not spell success on the stage. Thompson's *Sophonisba*, Byron's *Marino Faliero*, Shelley's *The Cenci*, Addison's *Cato*, Browning's *The Return of the Druses*, Tennyson's *The Falcon*, coming from authors unschooled in stagecraft and neglecting the necessary mimetic and oral elements of the dramatic formula, failed dismally in the theater. A hundred years ago, the celebrated actor-manager, Macready, vainly championed the cause of such ineffectual forms. He commissioned Browning and Sheridan Knowles and Bulwer-Lytton to write for him plays in blank verse. But he was forced to give up the management of Drury Lane and Covent Garden theaters because, in his own words, he "found his designs for the elevation of the stage hampered and finally frustrated by the sordid aims of the proprietors and the absence of adequate public support." The people would not come to see a marionette in borrowed robes poorly made over, however handsome the embroidery. They would have no weak imitations of the glorious Elizabethan verse. They demanded life and a living form, and so *Virginus*, *The Lady of Lyons*, and the rest, remain today but museum specimens of our stage history. Perhaps in following their illustrious predecessor, these poet-playmakers failed to see that with Shakespeare the play was really the thing, the poetry but the by-product, the efflorescence; with them it would seem the verse was tantamount, the stage technique quite incidental. Apparently they did not realize that however much a poetic form may enrich drama and give it permanent value in literature, it does not make for acting value; it cannot make a proper play.

THE POETIC PLAY

What then of the poetic play? In the first place, what of this so-called Closet drama? May we not rid our minds of any notion we may have that such is *drama* at all? If a play is written for the closet, might it not just as well be permanently closeted, and have done with it, as far as the stage is concerned? For such is no true acting form however fine its verse, but an impossible vehicle—a ponderous wooden horse without vitals. It will not go. As poetry it may be legitimate enough, but as poetic drama it is poetastry rather; it is a pretender. It is to be hoped that no dramatist of today will make the egregious mistake of setting out to write plays primarily as literature. All such efforts must inevitably fail. Brunetière emphasizes this: "A dramatic work does not begin to exist as such except before the footlights by virtue of the collaboration and complicity of the public, without which I assert that it never has and never can be

more than mere rhetoric." Such "mere rhetoric" is letter-bound; it lacks life, the necessary sound and action of its popular beginnings in "those happy days," as Herder calls them, when poetry "lived in the ears of the people, on the lips, and in the harps of living bards." Too frequently has drama of the poetic form become "mere rhetoric" because it forgot its communal origin and end. At times, to be sure, drama of this "closet" type has had a brief hour to strut and fret its leaden lines, but such has been a passing vogue, and a hopeful public has speedily discovered that it had hoped in vain for a "revival of the poetic drama"—that the gorgeous mummer was a false prophet. A dramatic poem, then, is to be regarded a proper form as poetry but it must not be called drama unless it has the necessary mimetic and oral elements. Poetry may be dramatic apart from the stage; poetic drama is dramatic only when it is adapted to the stage. Indeed Professor Thorndike goes so far as to say, "in general, only a play suited to presentation on the stage is likely to secure for a reader the visualization, the impersonations, the illusion of actuality similar to those experienced in the theatre."

The undramatic closet drama has relied too much upon the show element, upon the elaborate costumes and gilded trappings of a romantic past, too much upon rhetoric apart from reality. Now historical shows as such, will always have a rightful place in reconstructing and visualizing the human pageant of other days, but surely they should not be substituted for a drama of present life, of actuality now. Edmund Gosse, in a review of the original performances of Stephen Phillips' *Herod* and *Paola and Francesca* a score of years ago, pointed out that the author "realizes that modern audiences will not think and he is most adroit in presenting to them romantic images, rich costumes, and vivid emotions, without offering to their intellects the smallest strain." This criticism, I suppose, might be freely applied to the plays of this "closet" type. Our profest dramatic poets have been too much obsessed with literary conventions to report life as it is. Addison's defense of his own artificial verse in Thackeray's *Henry Esmond* is suggestive: "We College poets trot, you know, on very easy nags; it hath been, time out of mind, part of the poet's profession to celebrate the actions of heroes in verse, and to sing the deeds which . . . men of war perform. I must follow the rules of my art, and the composition of such a strain as this must be harmonious and majestic, not familiar, or too near the vulgar truth." How many ambitious dramatists have avoided "familiar" language as "too near the vulgar truth"! Such word-shows Mr. Henry Arthur

Jones, pioneer champion of the printed play in England, deplored in addressing an audience of Yale students in the fall of 1906. "It is a notion that a costume play, a play whose scenes are laid anywhere and anytime between the birth of Christ and 1840" (note the date—not later than 1840) and in which the personages "talk blank verse or patchwork diction compounded of every literary and conversational style from Chaucer to a White-chapel costermonger . . . does by that very fact acquire a literary merit . . . which ranks it immeasurably above the mere prose play of everyday life . . . bringing an elevation of mind and feeling, that vague but gratifying sense of superiority which was felt by the Bourgeois Gentilhomme when he discovered that, without taking the least pains, he was a person of very considerable literary attainment." But I think the day of such mere mummary is passing. We are demanding today no mere "vague" and "gratifying sense of superiority," no mere trumpery of costume or phrase. We will be thoughtful in the theater; we want no romantic fustian; we require, in "familiar" language, truth today—plays that deal rationally with the life of which we are a potential part—plays of our own homes and streets, of our own shops and factories, of our own farms and cities, of our own people today. Only in such stuff can our modern stage find an American dramatic literature.

THE PROSE PLAY

What now of prose? There seems to be much obscurity in what constitutes literary merit in drama. Ibsen answered Peterson's fulmination against *Peer Gynt*, "My book is poetry; and if it is not, then it will be. The conception of poetry in our country, in Norway, shall be made to conform to the book." He was insisting upon greater freedom of form just as did Whitman, "defiant" (as he himself says) "of ostensible literary conventions" in his long struggle for unrestrained verse. In his essay *A Backward Glance o'er Travel'd Roads*, written in the "candle light" of his old age, this unwearied worker modestly noted, "Let me not dare . . . to attempt the definition of Poetry, nor answer the question what it is . . . in my opinion, no definition that has ever been made sufficiently encloses the name Poetry." Does not this phrase our widening modern conception? Have we not been too dogmatic in our idea of what is dramatic literature? We agree that the poetry of the stage we pronounce great is no mere wordmongery; not superficial, but the heart of the play; not its shell, but its life. We know that the cherished masterpieces of our day were familiar acting pieces of their own time,

that only since then have they come to be regarded as literature. We remember that, altho widely read, Ibsen wrote his plays primarily to be performed, that he was a craftsman of the stage (director of theaters in Bergen and Christiania) before he was a craftsman of letters. So all the other great ones in the history of the stage. To be sure, it is the literary qualities that have kept them alive—Sophocles, Shakespeare, Molière, Sheridan, and the rest, for literature alone is lasting. But we must not fail to remember that the acting merits, not the literary, determine the primary value of a play, that the pragmatic test is the first to be applied to all writings for the stage. The written poem cannot make the play. Ben Jonson used the same kind of lines as did Shakespeare, but Shakespeare's lines are more inherently dramatic, more finely wrought for the theater. And so he has outstript his scholarly rival in the silent course of fame; so, too, he has passed Marlowe with all his "mighty lines"; so all the brilliant contemporaries, simply in this—he wrote a drama more adequately, more perfectly, more truly attuned to the Elizabethan ear than they. So his plays are permanent as literature. Mr. William Archer, the distinguished English critic, well says in a recent article in the *Fortnightly*, "The history of drama does not record the name of a single playwright who failed to win the ear of his contemporaries and was proclaimed by posterity."

How, then, shall we interpret the literary insurgency of our own times? What of the modern, non-poetic play? Shall we not need to widen our definition to include not only the unique metrical fantasy of *Peer Gynt* which Peterson denounced as no true poetry, but also Ibsen's plays of perfect prose? Take, for illustration, the closing lines of *John Gabriel Borkman*—the fine dialog of the two women, the wife and the maiden sister, joining hands over the dead white body of him they have both loved; over the bankrupt king of business who, Lear-like, has wandered out into the wild snow, high up into the mountains, to his ending. Out of the tragic fact of her rejected life speaks

ELLA RENTHEIM. (*with a painful smile*) A dead man and two shadows—that is what the cold has made of us.

MRS. BORKMAN. Yes, the coldness of heart.—And now I think we two may hold out our hands to each other, Ella.

ELLA RENTHEIM. I think we may, now.

MRS. BORKMAN. We twin sisters—over him we have both loved.

ELLA RENTHEIM. We two shadows—over the dead man.

(*Mrs. Borkman behind the bench and Ella Rentheim in front of it, take each other's hand.*)

(*Curtain*)

Is there a scene more deftly calculated to voice a tragic truth, and its triumph? And this is plain prose. Could poetical lines be more effective?

Or take *Ghosts*, with its haunting heredity—the terror and the pity of the last words between mother and son:

MRS. ALVING. (*Bending over him.*) It has been a dreadful fancy of yours, Oswald—. There now. The crisis is over. You see how easily it passed! Oh, I was sure it would.—And do you see, Oswald, what a lovely day we are going to have? Brilliant sunshine! Now you can really see your home. (*She goes to the table and puts out the lamp. Sunrise. The glacier and the snow-peaks in the background glow in the morning light.*)

OSWALD. (*Sits in the arm-chair with his back towards the landscape, without moving. Suddenly he says:*) Mother, give me the sun.

MRS. ALVING. (*By the table, starts and looks at him.*) What do you say?

OSWALD. (*Repeats, in a dull, toneless voice.*) The sun. The sun.

MRS. ALVING. (*Goes to him.*) Oswald, what is the matter with you?

OSWALD. (*Seems to shrink together in the chair; all his muscles relax; his face is expressionless, his eyes have a glassy stare.*)

MRS. ALVING. (*Quivering with terror.*) What is this? (*Shrieks.*) Oswald! What is the matter with you? (*Falls on her knees beside him and shakes him.*) Oswald! Oswald! look at me! Don't you know me?

OSWALD. (*Tonelessly as before.*) The sun.—the sun.

MRS. ALVING. (*Springs up in despair, entwines her hands in her hair and shrieks.*) I cannot bear it! (*Whispers, as though petrified*); I cannot bear it! Never! (*Suddenly.*) Where has he got them? (*Fumbles hastily in his breast.*) Here! (*Shrinks back a few steps and screams:*) No; no; no!—Yes!—No; no; (*She stands a few steps away from him with her hands twisted in her hair, and stares at him in speechless horror.*)

OSWALD. (*Sits motionless as before and says:*) The sun.—The sun.

(*Curtain*)

Again, take the very last speech of the heart-struck husband in *A Doll's House*:

HELMER. (*Sinks into a chair by the door with his face in his hands.*) Nora! Nora! (*He looks round and rises.*) Empty! She is gone. (*A hope springs up in him.*) Ah! The miracle of miracles
_____?!
(*From below is heard the reverberation of a heavy door closing.*)

(*Curtain*)

Recall the fine singing speeches of Hilda in *The Master Builder* culminating when Solness achieves the impossible and enwreathes his high-created spire:

HILDA. (*Immovable, follows Solness with her eyes.*) He climbs and climbs. Higher and higher! Higher and higher! Look! Just look!..... There, he is standing on the topmost planks! Right at the top!.... (*Exulting, with quiet intensity.*) At last! At last! Now I see him great and free again! So have I seen him all thru these ten years. How serene he stands! Frightfully thrilling all the same. Look at him! Now he is hanging the wreath round the vane! Yes, it is the impossible that he is doing now! I hear a song—a mighty song! (*Shouts in wild jubilation and glee.*) Look, look! Now he is waving his hat! He is waving it to us down here! Oh, wave, wave back to him! For now it is finished! (*Snatches the white shawl from the Doctor, waves it, and shouts up to Solness.*) Hurrah for Master Builder Solness! (*Stares fixedly upwards and says as if petrified.*) My Master Builder!

A VOICE. (*Below in the garden.*) Mr. Solness is dead!.....

HILDA. (*As if in quiet spell-bound triumph.*) But he mounted right to the top. And I heard harps in the air. (*Waves her shawl in the air and shrieks with wild intensity.*) My—my Master Builder!

(*Curtain*)

Here is seen Ibsen's high quality in prose. The reader will recall other scenes of surpassing beauty and appeal—in *Rosmersholm*, in *Little Eyolf*, (how tersely tragic is Rita's simple line, "The crutch is floating!"), in *The Lady From the Sea*, in *The Wild Duck*, in *When We Dead Awaken*—passages of true literary quality. Indeed the conscious evolution of Ibsen's style from the conventional verse of his early romanticism to the poignant prose of his maturer realism is exceedingly interesting evidence to the student of modern letters. He contended: "The verse form has done dramatic art a great injury. I myself have, during the last seven or eight years, hardly written a single verse, but have undertaken the incomparably more difficult art of writing in simple, true language of reality. Verse form will hardly find a nameworthy application in the drama of the near future, for the literary endeavor of the future would not be able to harmonize with it. It will therefore succumb. Forms in art die out, just as the monstrous animal forms of primitive times died out; when their time was ended." Here is an extreme position, but it must be granted that the great Norseman lost nothing of his master-power in the avowed iconoclasm of his later style. Rather it is said he gained much in eschewing verse, in exploiting a new world of poetic possibilities in prose.

But Shakespeare had caught the idea before him. Some of his best work is in prose—plain prose of alluring phrase. The reader will undoubtedly call to mind in this connection the crisp phrasing and the ringing sentences of Hamlet's instructions to the Players. Here is simple prose—but how sprightly and really dramatic. Then there is Hamlet's dark outlook on life in a brilliant passage of prose, bristling with stars, "This goodly frame, the earth, seems to me a sterile promontory; this most excellent canopy, the air, look you, this brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire, etc." And the meditations of the Prince of Denmark over the skull of the jester, "Alas poor Yorick," are deep wells of wonder, lines of lasting melody.

Shakespeare abounds in such prose miracles. Perhaps the most astonishing occur in *Macbeth*—in scenes containing elemental force and perfect loveliness. Here a drunken Porter, even, guards "the primrose way to the everlasting bonfire," and a great "sleep-walking" scene haunts the remembrance with heart-breaking pity; "all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand." Here is mastery—Shakespeare perhaps at the flood-tide of dramatic phrasing—sheer power and unvarnished beauty. And it is in prose.

Browning, even, reached a high place in dramatic style in *A Blot on the Scutcheon* in the infinite pity of Mildred's simple confession:

MILDRED. . . . I—I was so young.
Beside, I loved him, Thorold—and I had
No mother; God forgot me; so, I fell.

Here is verse form with the directness of prose.

Examples might be indefinitely multiplied did space permit. I am not arguing against verse on the stage. "There is need for poetry in the drama," Mr. Clayton Hamilton has well observed, "provided that the play remain the thing and the poetry contribute to the play." But we should not be obsessed with the notion that poetry is the only vehicle worthy of literary drama. Certainly prose is not to be considered an inferior form; Ibsen regarded it as "incomparably more difficult." It may, often does, rise to the heights we have come to associate only with the lyric. Perhaps the great prose of Ibsen and of Shakespeare may serve to indicate a yet "undiscovered country" of dramatic possibilities; perhaps the modern drama will find in prose an elemental power and variety not yet known. With this in view, it were better for our aspiring dramatists to achieve as pioneers in prose, than to fail as conservatives in poetry.

III. THE VOGUE OF THE PRINTED PLAY

What is the outlook today? The novel seems to be barely holding its own—if indeed it is holding its own. After a careful study of the field, Mr. Fred E. Woodward of Washington, D. C. (see *The Literary Digest*, March 1, 1913, page 464), found a falling off in the production of fiction in the United States from 24.5 per cent. in 1890 to only 9.3 per cent in 1912. Without doubt the growing demand for the short story in this same period accounts in some measure for this change in the attitude of the reading public. And perhaps the condensed form of the short story with its elimination of description and comment by the way, with its emphasis on dialog has prepared the way for the rather phenomenal rise of the published play in recent years.

In response to letters addressed to the chiefs of four of our great public libraries, the writer received unanimously affirmative answers to his suspicion on this point. Dr. Bostwick of the St. Louis Public Library writes: "The circulation of printed plays has not only increased enormously in the last few years, but it practically did not exist a few years ago." Mr. Henry E. Legler of the Chicago Public Library says: "The demand for the printed play has very materially increased during the last few years." Dr. Billings of the New York Public Library holds likewise that "there is an increased demand for the printed play," and Dr. Horace G. Walden of the Boston Public Library states that "the demand for the printed play has undoubtedly increased." Such evidence is at once surprising and suggestive. How shall we account for it? How shall we interpret the marked decrease in the production of the novel as indicated by Mr. Woodward's compilation, and the rapid increase in the last few years in the output of printed plays as indicated in the concurring testimonies of the librarians? Undoubtedly such flourishing organizations as The Drama League of America and The American Playgoers have done much to promote the printed play by creating an intelligent interest in the big playgoing public thru study classes, reading clubs and lectures. So, many readers today are looking on the play as the most vital thing in modern literature.

The number of our contemporary writers who have taken up the drama as a favorite vehicle is indeed surprising—on the continent, such literary leaders as Hauptmann, Sudermann, Wedekind, Maeterlinck, D'Annunczio, Rostand, Brieux; in England, Shaw, Galsworthy, Arnold Bennett, Yeats, Barrie, and others. (The first and the last mentioned Englishmen are interesting instances of novelists success-

fully turned playwrights.) In America, William Vaughan Moody after contributing good poetry gave us at least on noteworthy play in prose, *The Great Divide*. There has come up in the United States in recent years a significant group of ambitious playwrights, enthusiastic with youth, thoughtful, vital. And the universities, following the lead of Harvard, have included in their curricula courses in Modern Drama—with practice in dramatic composition. The success of Edward M. Sheldon, but just out of Harvard, at twenty-five, with two such worthy contributions to the American stage as *Salvation Nell* and *The Nigger*, marks the beginning, it is thought, of a promising future.

To be sure the drama is difficult. It is generally conceded to be the most difficult of all literary forms to write. Perhaps because it is hard—and high—it summons up the blood of our most ambitious authors. Mr. Henry James's remark is in point: "To work successfully beneath a few grave, rigid laws, is always a strong man's highest ideal of success." And plays are difficult to read, too. They demand concentration on the part of the reader, and a trained imagination for the visualization of the scene, the speech, the action, the ensemble which the lines only connote. The printed page cannot supply the necessary mimetic and oral elements; this the reader must himself bring to the book. But when he can do this, he gets crystallized, as it were, in two hours of his time all the moving pageant of life which the novel holds; and he gets it in two hours rather than in two weeks, or maybe as many months. Besides, the play-reader, in drawing vigorously on his fancy, is exercising his own mental reach. Perhaps because of its condensation and its strong appeal to the imagination is the play cherished by our active American mind.

IV. THE CONTEMPORARY DRAMA

And what can we say is the promise of this increasingly popular form? Is there more than temporary significance to the clamoring of our insurgent drama? Will its daring dream find permanent life in literature? Who can say! Our mind is called analytic, scientific; our age, an age of prose, a barren soil for art. But the prose of Shakespeare and Ibsen we have tried and found not wanting in high literary quality. True, our times are active rather than contemplative, but so were Shakespeare's. And may we not make of this stirring day dramatic prose vibrant with our own new wonder of life, and our joy in it. Our thoughtful contemporary playwrights seem to be pointing the way in prose combining actuality with real literary

power. A few excerpts from representative plays here will serve to remind the reader of such values:

From Act V of Hauptmann's *The Weavers*, the desperate state of starving workers; the last plaint of the aged Hilse:

OLD HILSE. . . . An' if it came to the worst! Willin', willin' would I be to say good-bye to this weary world. Death would be welcome—welcomer to me today than tomorrow. For what is it we leave behind? That old bundle of aches an' pains we call our body, the care an' the oppression we call by the name of life. We may be glad to get away from it.—But there's something to come after, Gottlieb!—an' if we've done ourselves out of that too—why, then it's all over with us!

From Act II of Brieux's *Maternity*, the tragic fact of the out-cast mother with child:

LUCIE. Can't you imagine what my poor darling's life would be like if we did what you said? Turned out of here——

BRIGNAC. No, no; not turned out.

LUCIE. Sent away unwillingly, if you like, coming to this place, suddenly thrust into contact with all the sadness and the misery and the vice of Paris! Think of her waiting all those months, in the midst of the women there, while a poor little creature is growing into life that she knows beforehand is condemned. . . . And when she is torn with the torturing pain that I know so well, at that moment of martyrdom when a woman feels death hovering over her bed and watching jealously for mother and child, when the full horror of the sacred mystery she has accomplished is on her, then she'll only have strangers round her! . . . That's your justice! Justice! Social hypocrisy, rather—that's what you stand up for. . . . Let's be frank about it. . . . It isn't immorality that's condemned, but having children!

From the close of Act II of Shaw's *Mrs. Warren's Profession*, the dialog between mother and daughter; Mrs. Warren's scathing arraignment of society in explaining and defending her pitiable-prosperous shame:

VIVIE. (*intensely interested by this time*): . . . but why did you choose that business? Saving money and good management will succeed in any business.

MRS. WARREN. Yes, saving money. But where can a woman get the money to save in any other business? Could you save out of four shillings a week and keep yourself dressed as well? Not you. Of course, if you're a plain woman and can't earn anything more; or if you have a turn for music, or the stage, or newspaper-writing: that's different. But neither Liz nor I had any turn for such things; all we had was our appearance and our turn for pleasing men. Do you think we were such fools as to let other people trade in our good looks by employing us as shopgirls, or barmaids, or waitresses, when

we could trade in them ourselves and get all the profits instead of starvation wages? Not likely. . . . Why am I independent and able to give my daughter a first-rate education, when other women that had just as good opportunities are in the gutter? Because I always knew how to respect myself and control myself. Why is Liz looked up to in a cathedral town? The same reason. Where would we be now if we'd minded the clergyman's foolishness? Scrubbing floors for one and sixpence a day and nothing to look forward to but the workhouse infirmary.

VIVIE. (*turning to her quickly*) . . . You have got completely the better of me tonight, though I intended it to be the other way. Let us be good friends now. . . . Come; good-night, dear old mother. (*She takes her in her arms.*)

MRS. WARREN. (*fondly*). I brought you up well, didn't I, dearie?

VIVIE. You did.

MRS. WARREN. And you'll be good to your poor old mother for it, won't you?

VIVIE. I will, dear. (*Kissing her.*) Good-night.

MRS. WARREN. (*With unction.*) Blessings on my own dearie darling—a mother's blessing! (*She embraces her daughter protectingly, instinctively looking upward as if to call down a blessing.*)

(*Curtain*)

From Act I of *Caesar and Cleopatra* to show Shaw's versatility, the fantastic address of Julius Caesar to the Egyptian Sphinx:

THE MAN. Hail, Sphinx: Salutation from Julius Caesar! I have wandered in many lands, seeking the lost regions from which my birth into this world exiled me, and the company of creatures such as I myself. I have found flocks and pastures, men and cities, but no other Caesar, no air native to me, no man kindred to me, none who can do my day's deed, and think my night's thought. . . . Sphinx, Sphinx: I have climbed mountains at night to hear in the distance the stealthy footfall of the winds that chase your sands in forbidden play—our invisible children, O Sphinx, laughing in whispers. My way hither was the way of destiny; for I am he of whose genius you are the symbol: part brute, part woman, and part God—nothing of man in me at all. Have I read your riddle, Sphinx?

From Act II of Galsworthy's *Strife*, the eloquent appeal of Labor:

ROBERTS. 'Tis not for this little moment of time we're fighting (*the murmuring dies*), not for ourselves, our own little bodies, and their wants, 'tis for all those that come after throughout all time. (*With intense sadness.*) Oh! men—for the love o' them, don't roll up another stone upon their heads, don't help to blacken the sky, an' let the bitter sea in over them. They're welcome to the worst that can happen to me, to the worst that can happen to us all, aren't they—aren't they? If we can shake (*passionately*) that white-faced

monster with the bloody lips, that has sucked the life out of ourselves, our wives, and children, since the world began. (*Droppping the note of passion, but with the utmost weight and intensity.*) If we have not the hearts of men to stand against it breast to breast, and eye to eye, and force it backward till it cry for mercy, it will go on sucking life; and we shall stay forever what we are (*in almost a whisper*), less than the very dogs. (*An utter stillness, and Roberts stands rocking his body slightly, with his eyes burning the faces of the crowd.*)

EVANS AND JAGO. (*Suddenly.*) Roberts! (*The shout is taken up.*)

From Synge's *Riders to the Sea* the infinite grief of old Maurya, the mother of men, sea-plundered of husband and seven strong sons—of all.

MAURYA. (*Puts the empty cup mouth downwards on the table and lays her hands together on Bartley's feet.*) They're all together this time, and the end is come. May the Almighty God have mercy on Bartley's soul, and on Michael's soul, and on the souls of Sheamus and Patch, and Stephen and Shawn (*bending her head*); and may He have mercy on my soul, Nora, and on the soul of every one is left living in the world. (*She pauses, and the keen rises a little more loudly from the women, then sinks away.*) Michael has a clean burial in the far north by the grace of Almighty God. Bartley will have a coffin out of the white boards, and a deep grave surely. What more can we want than that? No man at all can be living forever, and we must be satisfied. (*She kneels down again and the curtain falls slowly.*)

In the "rolling glory" of such sentences it is well said "there is the rythm as of waters following the moon."

From Act II of John Masefield's dark *Tragedy of Nan*—the bitter-sweet love-making of poor, beauty-starved Nan:

NAN. (*Striking a match*): They must have looked beautiful, those women must, in the old time. There was songs made of them. Beauty be a girt gift, Mr. Dick.

DICK. It be wonderful in a woman.

NAN. It makes a woman like God, Mr. Dick.

.....
DICK. You be beautiful. You be like a fairy. The rose. You be beautiful like in my dream.

NAN. Ah! Let go my hands. Let go my hands.

DICK. You be beautiful. Your eyes. And your face so pale. And your hair with the rose. O Nan, you be lovely. You be lovely!

NAN. O don't! Don't!

.....
DICK. Nan, O Nan, do 'ee love me?

.....
NAN. I love you, Dick.
.....

DICK. Nan, dear, let I take the pins out of your hair. Let me 'ave your 'air all loose. Your lovely hair. O Nan, you be a beautiful woman.

NAN. There be my 'air, Dick. It ben't much, after all.

DICK. (*kissing the hair*): Oh, beautiful. Beau-ti-vul. My own Nan.

NAN. Now loose me, darling. (*They break.*) I have had my moment. I have been happy.

From Act III of Moody's *The Great Divide* the clash between puritanical Massachusetts and lawless Arizona:

(*Ruth utters a faint moan as her head sinks in her arms on the table. With trembling hands, Ghent carresses her hair lightly, and speaks between a laugh and a sob.*) Little mother! Little mother! What does the past matter, when we've got the future—and him? (*Ruth does not move. He remains bending over her for some moments, then straightens up, with a gesture of stoic despair.*) I know what you're saying there to yourself, and I guess you're right. Wrong is wrong, from the moment it happens till the crack of doom, and all the angels in Heaven, working overtime, can't make it less or different by a hair. That seems to be the law. I've learned it hard, but I guess I've learned it. I've seen it written in mountain letters across the continent of this life.—Done is done, and lost is lost, and smashed to hell is smashed to hell. We fuss and potter and patch up. You might as well try to batter down the Rocky Mountains with a rabbitt's heart-beat! (*He goes to the door, where he turns.*) You've fought hard for me, God bless you for it.—But it's been a losing game with you from the first!— You belong here, and I belong out yonder—beyond the Rockies, beyond—the Great Divide!

You have taken the good of our life and grown strong. I have taken the evil and grown weak, weak unto death. Teach me to live as you do! (*She puts the chain about his neck.*)

GHENT. (*Puzzled, and yet realizing the full force of her words.*) Teach you—to live—as I do?

RUTH. And teach—*him*!

GHENT. (*Unable to realize his fortune.*) You'll let me help make a kind of a happy life for—the little rooster?

RUTH. (*Holds out her arms, her face flooded with happiness.*) And for us! For us!

(*Curtain*)

From Act III of Sheldon's *The Nigger*, Senator Long's hopeful outlook on the race conflict in the South:

LONG. (*Simply.*) When yo' as ol' as me, sonny, you'll b'lieve in a God above us that's a real, sho' thing! I reckon that God knew what He was doin' when He let us bring the niggahs ovah heah. He knew we'd have t' go through an awful lot b'fo' *that* could be

made right, an' I reckon He knew, too, that in the end we'd be a blame sight bettah nation than we evah were be'fo'. Ye know, sonny, that's a way God has. He lets us tu'n the bad into good. Sometimes I think we oughtah thank Him mo' fo' that 'n anything else. (*There is a slight pause.*)

PHIL. (*Half to himself.*) Tu'n the bad into good.

From Act III of Augustus Thomas's *As A Man Thinks*, this modern interpretation:

SEELIG. Elinor. (*pause*) Do you hear that rattle of the railroad?

ELINOR. Yes.

SEELIG. All over this great land thousands of trains run every day starting and arriving in punctual agreement because this is a *woman's world*. The great steamships, dependable almost as the sun—a million factories in civilization—the countless looms and lathes of industry—the legions of labor that weave the riches of the world—all—all move by the mainspring of man's faith in woman—man's *faith*.

ELINOR. I want *him* to have faith in me.

SEELIG. This old world hangs together by love.

MRS. SEELIG. Not man's love for woman.

SEELIG. No—nor woman's love for man, but by the love of both—for the children.

From Act II of Kennedy's *The Servant in the House*, the church of the new religion:

MANSON. The pillars of it go up like the brawny trunks of heroes: the sweet human flesh of men and women is moulded about its bulwarks, strong, impregnable: the faces of little children laugh out from every corner-stone: the terrible spans and arches of it are the joined hands of comrades; and up in the heights and spaces there are inscribed the numberless musings of all the dreamers of the world. It is yet building—building and built upon. Sometimes the work goes forward in deep darkness: sometimes in blinding light: now beneath the burden of unutterable anguish: now to the tune of a great laughter and heroic shoutings like the cry of thunder. (*Softer.*) Sometimes, in the silence of the night-time, one may hear the tiny hammerings of the comrades at work up in the dome—the comrades that have climbed ahead.

From Act I of Zangwill's *The Melting Pot*, the immigrant's hope, the future of America:

DAVID. Not understand! (*He rises and crosses to her and leans over the table, facing her.*) Not understand that America is God's Crucible, the great Melting-Pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming! Here you stand, good folk, think I, when I see them at Ellis Island, here you stand (*graphically illustrating it on the table*), in your fifty groups, with your fifty languages and histories, and your fifty blood hatreds and

rivalries. But you won't be long like that, brothers, for these are the fires of God you've come to—these are the fires of God. A fig for your feuds and vendettas! Germans and Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, Jews and Russians—into the Crucible with you all! God is making the American!

There is not room for further quotation. But it is enough. These scathing scenes, compelling lines, words "fire-new from the mint" show the dramatic combined with the literary sense—moving words. Greater versatility, fineness, will undoubtedly follow, but here is the main thing; the letters are latent with life, and life in abundance.

V. THE NEXT PHASE

Many are wondering what the next phase will be. The formula of the new drama will be first of all truth to our own times and a literary style consistent with this, dominantly prose perhaps tho not to the exclusion of poetry in its own field. Freed from the impediments of out-lived tradition, it will give us the wonder of our own day's work. It will not overlook the common people and the common things; it will find as Emerson did that

". . . . in the mud and scum of things,
There alway, alway something sings."

The democratic mass will be its working basis, the neglected ones whom *Henry Esmond* remembers: "There were men at Blenheim as good as the leader whom neither knights nor senator applauded nor voices plebeian or patrician favored, and who lie there forgotten under the clods. What poet is there to sing them?" Them, and such like, the new drama will celebrate, for it will know that the highest individualism is the highest socialism.

And it will be more than an insurgent drama; it will be synthetic; it will be creative; it will bring new beauty. It will go on in its mission purging society of superstition and hypocrisy, building on the sound physical basis of love and life, a new order, a more wholesome humanity—men and women going on together clear in body and in mind, to make for themselves a new heaven and a new earth. Already is the reconstruction evident. Friedrich Kummer in his illuminating book, *Deutsche Literaturegeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, 1909, says, "Even the authors who at first were strict naturalists or positivists like Hauptmann and Liliencron are gradually being seized by the metaphysical way of looking at things." And Nietzsche while insisting that out of the decay of the present day conditions should come an entire re-evaluation of things to help

us up, predicted the coming of the superman. "Since we have progressed from worm to man," he suggests, "why is it not possible to pass on from man to superman." And so will come an even greater than Ibsen to interpret for us an emancipated society. Beauty so created will be lasting in literature because it will be truth.

America has much to contribute. The inaugural address of President Wilson is suggestive: "At last a vision has been vouchsafed us of our life as a whole. We see the bad with the good, the debased and decadent with the sound and vital. With this vision, we approach new affairs. Our duty is to cleanse, to reconsider, to restore." Such is our high American hope. Tho our life is called pragmatic it is large, too, in faith. Transcendentalism is not yet departed from us. Even in our huge businesses, we are enthusiasts; even in our flashing shuttles and roaring looms we are dreaming big dreams. Even in such we are really idealists—high romancers. Shakespeare's reference to his own age as "these nimble and giddy-paced times" is quite as applicable to our own. It would seem that we are on the uplift of a world-wave in literature—a literature of action. Perhaps now, once again, the drama is to be the expression of a new nationality, of our "third empire" which Ibsen vainly sought in his *Emperor and Galilean*, "that empire which shall be founded on the tree of knowledge and the tree of the cross together." A drama of pragmatic vision made out of our abundant materials—Yosemites of wonder, Niagaras of power—from rough-hewn Maine to sun-bright California, from fenceless Texas to far-flung Dakota—a drama of thrilling life, of our proved democracy. Perhaps in a "republic of active literature" our insurgent stage of today will yet give us a new chapter in American letters called—The Modern Drama.

"Poets to come!.....

Expecting the main things from you."

—Walt Whitman.

I Dreamed That Dream Was Quenched*

I DREAMED that Dream was quenched,
And my heart blenched
At how the world emptied itself of joy.
Of Spring, erewhile so fresh—
Spring with the heart of trysting maid and boy,
The spirit flower seemed gone to seed in flesh.
Of Summer, with her sheen
At the meeting-place of heavenly and terrene,
Evanished, too, the soul! nor without it
Was morning any longer exquisite.
Forests, that are but seaweed of the sky,
Like stranded ooze did seem of space gone dry.
There was no mystery in things, no spell
Of bird-song in the air, no nacre on the shell.
No lingering afterglows of twilight eves,
Nor autumn's red apocalyptic leaves,
Oped Revery a visionary page.
Rose drearly the sun, as in a cage
Some tawny bulk, once leonine, upheaves
To be its living pendulum. The moon,
Appearing moth-white from its cloud-cocoon,
Became the murky wraith of old eclipse.
No more the sea was Sea,
Fathomless as to thought, eternity,
In wonted might uphurled,
But only the vast sepulchre of ships,
Whose ghosts, at ebbing tide,
Disbodied of incrustated wreckage, eyed
Afar the stark, cold, and dismembered world.

* "The Lyric Year aspires to the position of an Annual Exhibition or Salon of American Poetry, for it presents a selection from one year's work of a hundred American poets." For the last Exhibition, ten thousand poems were contributed by nearly two thousand writers including many of the most prominent in the country today. The poem here found was Professor Hult's contribution, and is one of the one hundred chosen to appear in the anthology. (Editor)

In that drear time,
Man knew no longer youth or prime,
The newly-born seemed old incredibly.
A delver within ruined hills for ore,
Ten thousand years or more,
Emerged into white noon, had been as he,—
So shriveled up with night, so cursed with grime.

More terror than befalls from Nature's hand,
At lancing of Volcano's pent-up ache,—
More desolation than of fire and quake
He wrought upon the land.
For in the age's wake,
Wonder and Song had ceased to be;
And battle flags were rent for scullionry;
And Love was plucked as theme from the world's tomes.
His pauseless fires I saw
Burn brick with toil-won straw:
Rose bastions, wherein Life immured itself;
Rose glutless vaults of pelf;
And everywhere were palaces and domes,—
But Joy was not, nor any hush for Awe.
Still Thought made feint to explore
The universe for lore;
But moulted was the very sense of truth,—
Impossible save to miracle and youth!
Nor work was wrought but bore
Evidence that the heart within was blind,—
That impotent is the dream-widowed mind.
Thus Man strained on and on
From futile deed to futile deed—and died:
And the air clarified
Of smoke from kilns and mills; and presently
Afar I seemed to see
Earth and the planets, hollow-eyed and haggard,
In horrible hellish dance, that never flagged,
About the bubbling caldron of the sun.

—Gottfried Hult.

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Book Reviews

A HISTORY OF THE LITERATURE OF ANCIENT ISRAEL FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 135 B. C.: HENRY T. FOWLER, Professor of Biblical Literature and History in Brown University. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1912. XVI + 392 pp. Price, \$2.25.

Our whole conception of the wonderful literature of the ancient Hebrews has, in comparatively recent years, undergone a complete change. Instead of regarding it as a sort of magic product dictated to automatons by divine authority, we now look upon it as an outgrowth of life, as a series of human documents which sprang straight from the minds and hearts of a great and gifted people. It has become possible to see that the same literary development with which we are familiar in the history of other peoples occurred in ancient Israel. The crude folk-songs and ballads of an early age, the simple codes of laws suited to primitive conditions, the naïve annals of half legendary achievements were followed in due time by polished lyrics, well-developed legislation, and carefully worked-up history, biography, and fiction. The striking thing about Biblical literature is not at all the manner of its production, but rather the spiritual ideals which it holds up, the unique conceptions of life which it presents, the breadth and height of its views of God and man, and the marvellous combination of simplicity and sublimity which, at its best, is characteristic of its style.

The general facts of the development of this marvelous literature are now generally understood and agreed upon by all modern Biblical scholars. They have been presented again and again in such standard works as Driver's "Introduction," and other similar books, as well as in Dr. Kent's very scholarly and complete "Student's Old Testament," to say nothing of the various editions of the individual books, encyclopedia articles, etc. It has remained, however, for Dr. Fowler to gather up these facts, put them into a connected narrative, and give us a complete and coherent panoramic view of the whole literature from the simple "Song of the Sword" to the finely wrought poems and tales of the Greek period.

One of the most puzzling problems for the ordinary student of the Bible is the separating of the different layers of narrative which were combined in the final redaction of the historical and legislative portions of the Old Testament. For the thoro study of this matter

Dr. Kent's works are, of course, invaluable; but Dr. Fowler sets forth the various situations and traces the blending of stratum and stratum in a most interesting and suggestive way. In this respect, as in many others, his book furnishes the best and most intelligible means of approach with which I am familiar. His treatment of the early prophets, Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, and of the author of Deuteronomy, is illuminating and convincing. The work of Jeremiah and Ezekiel also stands out in clear light against the background of the troubled times in which they lived.

Like practically all modern scholars, Dr. Fowler assigns the great majority of the Psalms and Proverbs to a comparatively late date. Here also belong those two charming tales, Ruth and Jonah—each alike designed to teach the Jews a broader humanity—the highly artistic tale of Esther, and the great poetical masterpieces, Job and the Song of Solomon. One can hardly help regretting that Dr. Fowler feels compelled to discard the theory which sees in the latter poem a dramatic action gathering about the Shulamite's devotion to her Shepherd-lover amid all the allurements of Solomon's court. It was certainly a most attractive interpretation, tho, of course, if the facts do not warrant it, we must be willing to give it up. Dr. Fowler's idea is that the book consists of a series of lyrics which obscurely reflect a story of true love. If this be the actual case, we should not, perhaps, expect any great clearness of thought. Tennyson, it should be remembered, tried to accomplish this same feat in "Maud," a poem which at first no one understood, one critic saying that it might well be called "Mad" or "Mud," but why the vowels should be combined in "Maud" no man could say. If a great modern master like the late Laureate could not do better with a lyric cycle, we should, perhaps, be somewhat moderate in our demands on an oriental poet of two thousand years ago.

Of the book of Job Dr. Fowler gives an appreciative tho brief study. The prose epilog, however, he regards as an artistic blemish. It does seem somewhat inconsistent with the spiritual message which the poem intended to inculcate—the lesson that success in life is not to be measured by temporal or outward prosperity. And yet how was the ancient dramatist to represent to the materialistically-minded men of his time the great fact that Jehovah prizes faith in the eternal verities more than credence of dogma? To me, at least, it seems that the epilog is necessary to drive the lesson home.

Enough has been said to show that the work before us is both interesting and stimulating. It can be confidently recommended to

all Bible students who are desirous of getting a clear modern conception of the history and literary values of the various books bound together in the Old Testament. Fuller and more critical discussions of individual books may easily be found; it would be difficult to name any other single volume telling the whole story so clearly and connectedly.

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THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI, Part IX. Edited, with Translations and Notes, by ARTHUR S. HUNT. Six plates, pp. xii + 304. Egypt Exploration Fund (American Branch, Boston), 1912. \$6.25; to Subscribers, \$5.00.

Again have scholars to acknowledge the service rendered by the Egypt Exploration Fund for another priceless collection of fragments—a worthy addition to an already indispensable series. The present volume is the ninth of the Oxyrhynchus volumes and the twelfth of the Graeco-Roman series.

Fifty-eight fragments appear in the current volumes—three from the Septuagint¹; three from the New Testament; one each from Philo and the Shepherd of Hermas; twelve from classical writers including Sophocles, Euripides, Apollonius Rhodius, Thucydides, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Socrates, and Pseudo-Hippocrates; and the balance a sheaf of letters, edicts, receipts, and other business paper.

The third century papyrus fragment, of Sept., Ge. 16:8-12, is especially helpful by reason of the defective text of Cod. B. The first gospel is represented by two fifth century fragments,² of which one will be of interest as being, probably, the earliest authority for the reading *ἀντόν* in 10:32 where the best MSS read *ὁμολογεῖν ἐν ἀντῷ*³. For the Catholic letters there is a single fragment, Jas. 2:19-3:9, textually in general agreement with Cod. B. Textual study of the Pastor of Hermas is promoted by a single fragment, Jas. 2:19-3:9, textually in general agreement with Cod. B. Textual study of the Pastor of Hermas is promoted by a fourth century fragment. The half-dozen or more fragments of this homily now recently discovered will go far toward eking out the scanty sources known in the days of Lightfoot.⁴ On the third century fragments of Philo, the Editor remarks that, "On the whole

1. Ge. 16:8-12; 31:42-54; Jos. 4:23 f. 5:1 (vellum).

2. 6:5-17 (vellum). 10:32-11:15.

3. For discussion, cf. Moulton, Gr. of N. T. Greek, Prolegg., p. 104; Allen Com. on Gospel acc. to Mt., p. 110.

4. Cp. Apost. Fathers, pp. 294 ff.

the papyrus leaves the satisfactory impression that the text of Philo as recommended by modern criticism is substantially sound."

The classical remains are especially valuable in point of age, those of the *Ichneutae* and Eurypylus of Sophocles dating to the second century as also those from Demosthenes, "*De Falsa Legatione*," and from the newly found life of Euripides by Satyrus. Thucidides, Xenophon, and Apollonius Rhodius are represented by third century fragments, and Euripides "*Phoenisae*," and "*Orestes*," by fragments dating respectively to the first century and the first century B. C. To the first century, further, dates a bit from Isocrates. In all these remains one could wish, alas! that fortune had been more kind and left less to the craft of modern editors.

In the case of Sophocles⁵ the discovery is almost unique, being paralleled only by a single piece from Euripides. As is well known, it was the custom among the Greek tragedians to produce tragedies in trilogies, or sets of three, following the trilogy with a play in lighter strain thus letting down as it were the wrought up feelings of the auditors. The only such satyric drama previously known was the *Cyclops* of Euripides, discovered by Messrs. Grenfell & Hunt and issued three years ago. But from the other great tragedians there remained only disjointed sentences and fragments of such works preserved largely in the grammarians. But now have been brought to light over four hundred lines of a comic detective play, "*Ichneutai*," "*The Trackers*," probably a half or more of the entire play.

The plot is simple, based on the old story of the pranks of the infant god Hermes, in this case the theft of Apollo's cattle. The scene is on Mt. Cylene in Arcadia. The *dramatis personae* includes Apollo, Silenus and his attendant chorus of Satyrs, the nymph Cylene, probably Hermes—tho our present fragment ends too soon to include his appearance.

Enter Apollo who announces that his cattle have been stolen. In vain has he sought. He offers a reward. Enter Silenus accompanied by his satyrs. They learn of the prize and engage in the search. They discover the tracks of the lost herd and follow them to a cave. But curious sounds come from the cave such as no man heard before. Bold Silenus chides his companions for their childish fear, and knocks at the entrance. A nymph emerges. She is questioned. She is the nurse of this wonderful child, who, born in the morning, has by midday invented the lyre, and by evening stolen Apollo's fifty head of cattle. Surely Apollo could not have avoided

5. A. S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* iv, pp. 30 ff.

a little feeling of pride over the exploits of such a promising baby brother even if he were the butt of the youngster's exploits.

The nymph stoutly denies the theft of the cattle—but there are the hoof-marks entering the cave! Enter again Apollo, scans the tracks, listens to the story, accepts the evidence of Silenus and the satyrs, and pays the reward. Here fortune fails us, the papyrus breaks off, leaving us to conjecture. Doubtless the play went on, and Hermes as per the legend appeased his big brother by the gift of the lyre. It must have been a side-splitter, a terrible come-down from such lofty heights as Oedipus, Antigone or Trachinae. The antics of this jovial bald-headed, pug-nosed old Silenus, as fat and round as the wine-skin he always carried with him. As he found it difficult to trust his own legs, he is often represented as riding an ass. The antics of the aged jester who evidently is bent on tickling the audience, and the attendant chorus of satyrs now in the pose of dogs on the scent, must have proved mirth-provoking to even the most sedate.

The long list of non-literary documents dates from the first century B. C. (a poll-tax register) to the fourth century A. D. A practice sheet contains among other things this:

"A little boy must eat bread, nibble besides some salt, and not touch the sauce; but if he asks for wine, give him your knuckles." Hermaeus promises attendance at court, Ptollas pledges loyal fulfillment of his office, Anteïs requests registration of the deaths of father and uncle, Aurelius Eudaemon asks possession of his inheritance, creditors file on Leonidas, and Horion receives into adoption the son of Heracles and his wife Isarion.

Under "Private Correspondence," the variety is still greater. Menandrus asks the Gods as to the advisability of marrying, Gennadius invites to the birthday festival for his son, Sarapis chides his sister for not writing oftener, the agent writes his employer for money, Isodorus incidentally gives a lesson in veterinary medicine, Hermias writing for money drops a hint on the relative values of the gold solidus and the silver murias, and Demetrianus reports delivery of the corn dues.

The careful work of an expert and painstaking editor supported by such references as Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Wilcken, and Gilbert Murray will assure confidence in the results attained.

Coming on the heels of the phenomenal discoveries of last season, the current volumes of the Fund cannot fail to excite enthusiastic interest.

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ELSE VON DER TANNE: WILHELM RAABE. A tale of the Thirty-Years' War, edited for schools and colleges, with introduction, notes and vocabulary by SAMUEL JAMES PEASE, Assistant Professor of French and German, University of North Dakota. The book contains, also, an autograph portrait of Wilhelm Raabe in his study. It is one of the OXFORD GERMAN SERIES of which Dr. Julius Goebel, Professor of the Germanic Languages in the University of Illinois, is General Editor. The Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York, 1911. XX + 111 pp. Price, 60c.

The re-opening of the University and the resuming of its many activities nearly eclipsed, the past year, the coming out of Professor Pease's new book, "Else von der Tanne," by Wilhelm Raabe. Yet, in a university, nothing should be of better augury and surer of attention than the literary output of its faculty. This new book, by a new light in German literature, fresh from the American branch of the Oxford Press, is the first edited by Professor Pease. It was eagerly awaited by a few friends, with the usual anxiety of a new venture in a crowded field. But the book has proved a success. The editing quality of the series and the care of its bookmanship would have insured that. The historical fiction of Raabe is far from being warmed-over material of the Thirty-Years' War; it only furnishes back-ground for the well-drawn characters of a homely but absorbing drama. The whole has social significance and educational value; the text is clear, the print is excellent; the notes and the vocabulary, edited with care, were tested in the class-room beforehand. The introduction, which recites Professor Pease's visit to Raabe and the salient features of this author's work, is written from the viewpoint of the student. It is interesting to note, in this connection, the growth of Raabe's popularity. Says Professor Pease, writing to the reviewer recently: "Raabe is having a much greater influence in Germany than one would expect of a taciturn, knotty, old man, however great and broad his sympathies. Indeed, there has been formed a 'Gesellschaft der Freunde Wilhelm Raabes' to which—being also *schweigsam* and *knorrig*—I have the honor to belong. . . .

In speaking with Raabe in 1909 with reference to permission to publish various works in America, he said: 'I have given permission and given permission, *aber nichts kommt daraus.*' " With the appearance of Professor Pease's work, the shade of the great German may be at peace!

The welcome given his book by the leading American scholars is gratifying. Professor Pease adds: "At last, the spell is broken and I have received kindly words from Professors Curme and Hatfield of Northwestern, Doernenburg of Ohio; Boyesen of Syracuse; and others. If the work can win even a few Americans from the hurry and bustle of every day existence to Raabe's keen sympathy with the right and normal, my purpose will have been accomplished." Here an omission breaks upon the consciousness of the new editor: "Unfortunately in my introduction to the book, I entirely neglected the national ring that Raabe puts into the very heart of the story." . . .

But the popularity of the work in our schools will soon bring about a new edition and the matter righted. Hearty recognition is given by Professor Pease to his colleagues. His indebtedness to Professor Curme and to others of his early teachers is not overlooked in this first editorial effort.

The Oxford Press staff, American branch, shows a growing trust in American scholarship, in this new series of German texts. The press-work is intelligent and in line with the latest text-book requirements.

The University welcomes this contribution to the Modern Languages from a student of the Classics. His motto, modest withal, covers, we hope, much of like worth and promise: "Satis sunt mihi pauci, satis est unus, satis est nullus."

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NOTE: Since the writing of the above, there has appeared from the press of D. C. Heath & Co., Raabe's "Eulpenfingsten," edited by M. B. Lambert of New York City. Professor Doernenburg is also preparing a very interesting article on "Raabe in America" for the "Raabe-Kalender" for 1914.

EXAMPLES OF INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION: FRANK MITCHELL LEAVITT, Associate Professor of Industrial Education, University of Chicago. Ginn & Company, Boston, 1912. VIII + 330 pp.

Here we have a readable, and very valuable contribution to the literature of industrial education. After an introductory chapter on the significance of the movement for industrial education, the author traces the history of manual training and its relation to our subject.

He says, "At the very inception of the manual training movement will be found the vocational idea. Speaking quite generally, this is also true of all types of American schools. Our existing high or secondary schools, so called, were originally established with a vocational purpose clearly stated or implied. For example, let us note the development of the high schools in Boston, since the oldest free public school in the United States, and one in which traditional education holds full sway, is included in that system. The Boston Latin School was, and is, a vocational school, more truly than many of the manual training and industrial schools thruout the country. It was founded as a preparatory school for Harvard College, which, in its turn, was established to train men for the ministry, in order that the colony might not have an illiterate clergy. This idea was prominent in the establishment of the manual training high schools in St. Louis, Chicago, Toledo, Cleveland, and Philadelphia, as well as of the Mechanic Arts High School in Boston.

"Whether in elementary or in high school, the work proposed by the earliest advocates of manual training was urged because of its vocational significance." "But those who opposed the introduction of manual training took the position that the purpose of instruction was to develop general culture rather than provide vocational efficiency. The school was to develop character and general intelligence." By this time it had been forgotten how the curriculum which they advocated on this ground had been especially designed for vocational purposes.

On account of this opposition the advocates of the new education were led to emphasize what they conceived to be the cultural value of constructive work. Following the example of its prominent advocates even the teachers of manual training very early began to deny that the practical value of the work was paramount, while the educational psychologists showed the inter-relation of mind and hand; and thus all helped to establish the claim that manual training had a distinct cultural value.

The author, far from denying this cultural value, fortifies the doctrine with a good array of quotations. But he nevertheless concludes, that, even tho manual training has been brought into subjection by the overmastering, formulizing influence of school tradition, it will still be found to have considerable industrial value.

Next follows a critical analysis of the demand for industrial education, and separate chapters take up the demand of the manufacturers, of organized labor, of educators, and of social workers. The

author shows what has been the attitude of each of these classes, and how the conflicting interests of manufacturers and of organized labor, and the hostility of conservative educators have retarded the solution of the problem.

The distinctive feature of the book lies in the descriptions of numerous concrete examples of the different types of industrial schools treated. Thus, to illustrate pre-vocational work in the grades, the Cleveland Elementary Industrial school is described, and an outline is given of other experiments of this type in Indianapolis, Newark, St. Paul, Springfield (Ill.), Evanston, Fitchburg, Los Angeles, and Seattle. In treating the intermediate or separate industrial school, its position is first defined and then the curriculum of the Rochester Shop School is described; also that of the Newton Independent Industrial School, the Manhattan Trade School, and the Secondary Industrial School of Columbus, Georgia. The vocational high school, the trade school, part-time cooperative school, and the continuation school are treated in the same manner. There are also good chapters on agricultural education, on state legislation relating to industrial education in public schools, and on vocational guidance.

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University Notes

Founders' Day On the twenty-second of February the University of North Dakota observed its thirtieth anniversary. An elaborate program had been prepared for the occasion and was carried out with success. In the forenoon Professor Squires delivered his illustrated lecture on "The History of Our University." The auditorium in Woodworth Hall was crowded with students, alumni and friends who followed the story with keen interest. In the afternoon the teams of the University and of the Agricultural College met in a game of basket ball. The latter won in a splendidly played game by the score of 29 to 22. At six o'clock more than three hundred persons assembled in the Commons for the Founders' Day dinner. This part of the program was made especially enjoyable by the singing of the different classes that had participated in the Carney Songfest the night before. President McVey as toastmaster maintained his reputation in this capacity. The following toasts were given: The University and the State, by Dr. J. D. Taylor; The University To-day, by Hon. E. K. Spoonheim; The University and the Alumni, by Superintendent J. A. Johnson, '06; The Students, by Francis H. Templeton, '14, and The Faculty, by Dean M. A. Brannon. At eight o'clock President McVey delivered the Founders' Day address on the theme "The University To-day and To-morrow." By a great number of lantern slides the work of this University was exemplified and it was shown how this institution directly serves the state in many fields of activity. In conclusion the speaker discust the future of the University, its problems, its duties and its vast opportunities.

The University and the International Congress The Eighth International Congress of Applied Chemistry which met in Washington and New York, September 4 to 13, is regarded as one of the most remarkable gatherings of the world's leaders in science and industry which has taken place in any country. The last previous meeting of the Congress was held in London, England, in 1907, at which time the late Honorable Whitelaw Reid, then Ambassador to England, presented for the President of the United States, an invitation for the Congress to hold its 1912 meeting in this country.

This invitation was heartily accepted and joint meetings provided for at Washington and New York. The distinguished representatives and guests from foreign countries began to arrive in August and a series of informal receptions was arranged in New York from August 31 to September 3, when special trains were provided to convey the Congress to Washington where on September 4, the inaugural session occurred. This was presided over by the President of the United States and was followed by a reception at The White House and the National Museum. On September 5, inspection trips were made to the various government laboratories and other points of scientific interest and in the evening the return trip was made to New York. On the morning of September 6, the Congress reassembled in New York, the various sections organized for the presentation and discussion of papers, and the real work of the Congress began. This program, modified by an occasional social function or visit to some important industrial plant, was vigorously carried out for a week following.

The headquarters were at Columbia University, where most of the sessions were held. Many of the University buildings were thrown open for the use, comfort, and convenience of the Congress. There were in attendance nearly three thousand men from all nations, prominent in science and industries. The speakers were carefully selected by program committees from the recognized authorities in their lines of work and all papers were supposed to represent some phase of original research in special lines of scientific and industrial development. The importance and cosmopolitan character of this Congress, as well as the great services rendered by such sciences as chemistry in the development of a wide range of industries, is seen not only by the gathering of such a notable group of men from all nations, but also by the widely diversified fields of science, technology, and industry, covered by the various sectional programs. There were 24 different sections representing over 300 phases of work in manufacturing, commerce, science, industry and education.

Among those who attended and addressed sessions of the Congress were many men of international reputation. At the close of the Congress several excursions, taken into different regions, served to illustrate a variety of the resources and the industrial development of the nation. The longest of these excursions extended across the continent to the Pacific and return, requiring between 40 and 50 days for the trip.

The University of North Dakota was represented at The Congress by Dr. G. A. Abbott, who was also a State representative, and Dean E. J. Babcock of the College of Mining Engineering, who was honored by being elected by the program committee to address a joint session of the Congress on the subject of fuels and their utilization.

The University and the American Association The 64th Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science was held in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, from December 30, 1912 to January 4, 1913. There were many affiliated science societies holding their sessions in connection with the American Association. Over eight hundred papers were presented at this meeting and over a thousand scientists, from the different parts of America, were present. The voluminous program gave no adequate standard for measuring the real worth of the Cleveland meeting. Several of the eleven great sections of science held a symposium upon some great problem immediately concerned with the scientific activities represented by the individual section. For example, the American Society of Zoologists had a special session on Genetics, or the Science of Breeding. The Botanical Society of America conducted a symposium upon Permeability and Osmotic Pressure, and the American Society of Naturalists had a symposium upon the important subject of Adaptation. In this way, it was possible to bring together many of the leading workers in practical and paramount scientific problems. The consensus of opinion was that the quality of the papers presented at the Cleveland meeting was unusually high, and in many respects represented the most inspiring and instructive program ever presented by a group of American scientists.

Dr. A. H. Taylor, of the Department of Physics, and Dr. M. A. Brannon, of the Department of Biology, were the North Dakota University representatives at the convocation week meeting of the American Physical Association. Dr. Taylor presented a paper before the American Physical Society. This paper contained results of his studies upon "Optimum Wave-Length in Radio Telegraphy." Dr. Brannon gave a paper before the American Society of Zoologists relative to "An Examination of the Conditions of Life in Devils Lake," and also a paper before the Botanical Society of America upon his work in the "Study of Osmotic Pressure."

The benefits accruing from attendance upon meetings of the character represented by the American Association are difficult to

estimate. Naturally, these gatherings bring one into immediate touch with the latest results of research in one's own immediate field of activity, they give suggestion and inspiration for furthering one's own immediate studies, and they also afford opportunity for making acquaintance with leading scientists from the various American institutions. Taken all in all, the Cleveland Meeting may be said to have been one of the best in the history of the American Association by reason of the excellent program which was offered, and on account of the added impetus given to the great activities of research represented.

A Valuable Addition to the Library A valuable addition to the library is the collection of books purchased by President McVey while in Europe during the past summer. The purchase was made from the Celtic library fund, supplemented by an allowance from the general library fund. The list includes one hundred fifteen volumes on Ireland, England, and Canada, and a number of important works on economics among which are the six volumes of Tooke's History of prices covering the period 1793-1847. Several other works in the collection bear an early imprint, some of them having long since been out of print and difficult to obtain. Special value is attached to the purchase because of the fact that President McVey was on the ground and was able to examine and select the books themselves instead of having to depend upon catalogs and bibliographies.

Changes in the College of Law In the University Notes in the July number of the Quarterly Journal announcement was made of the appointment of a new dean for the College of Law, but no mention has heretofore been made in these pages of the other changes in the personnel of the Law Faculty. Early in the summer Governor Burke tendered Professor Luther E. Birdzell the chairmanship of the Tax Commission of the State. In order to allow him to accept he was granted leave of absence for two years. The vacancy was filled by the selection of Joseph L. Lewinsohn of the Bar of Salt Lake City, Utah. The new law professor is a Bachelor of Philosophy, 1905, and a Juris Doctor, 1907, of the University of Chicago. While in college he was the recipient of a Phi Beta Kappa key, a scholarship in History, and special distinction in Economics. His J. D. was conferred *cum laude*. He was the class orator at graduation and a member of a championship varsity debating team.

For the past five years Dr. Lewinsohn engaged in the practice of his profession in Chicago and in Salt Lake City. He was not only a successful practitioner, but was regarded as a scholarly lawyer. On several occasions he secured decisions from the supreme court of his state which changed the trend of the local law upon the points involved. His standing at the bar is indicated by the fact that last summer he was tendered nominations for district judge and for attorney-general by the Progressive Party in his state. He was a delegate to the first national convention of the party, in Chicago, and a member of the platform committee. The work of a law professor was undertaken by Dr. Lewinsohn at a great financial sacrifice. He made his decision because he felt that the opportunity to influence the development of the law was greater as a member of a law faculty than as a practicing lawyer.

There are one or two new features in the curriculum which also merit notice. For the first year students the first week was devoted to a series of sixteen lectures given by the several members of the faculty constituting an introduction to the study of law. It was devoted to a treatment of some of the most common matters and to a definition of legal terms of the most frequent occurrence. The plan was in large measure unique. Credit for it is due chiefly to Professor Cooley. It proved to be entirely satisfactory and an improvement on the usual expedients employed for the purpose of introducing the subject to new students. The old methods are of two kinds, either courses on the elements of law which are by no means elementary and consequently present a subject futile for neophytes, or courses outlining the principal branches of the law which are entirely superficial and necessitate much repetition. The new arrangement also has the merit of giving complete introduction to the subject, before the study of any branch of the law is begun, instead of having the course run parallel with such studies. Another innovation is the quiz and consultation hours for the first year men, introduced for the purpose of showing them how to study law. This is the first year also in which a fixed curriculum has been abandoned. The work of the first year is still prescribed and there are required subjects for second and third year men, but a choice is now possible as to the remaining subjects. One of the chief advantages of this change is that it has permitted the lengthening of a number of courses, and is in that way conducive to thoroughness in the ground covered.

Mr. Stefansson's Visit

It was the pleasure of the University to entertain its noted former student, Mr. Vilhjalmer Stefansson, during the week of January 13 to 18, and to enjoy a series of lectures by him on his explorations and discoveries in the Arctic. Mr. Stefansson was a student at the University from 1897 to 1902. Later he graduated from the State University of Iowa and entered Harvard University, where he specialized in Ethnology. He began his explorations by brief expeditions to Iceland and Northern Europe during the summer vacations of his Harvard course, and went alone on his first expedition to the Arctic in 1906, travelling by way of the Mackenzie River. He lived a year among the Eskimos of the Mackenzie Delta, returning home by way of the Yukon River and the Pacific Ocean.

The second expedition, under the auspices of the American Museum of Natural History of New York, was undertaken in the spring of 1908. Accompanied by Dr. R. M. Anderson, of the University of Iowa, he again descended the Mackenzie River, and after a winter spent with the Eskimos in the vicinity of Point Barrow, Alaska, moved eastward to Cape Parry. Beyond this point Eskimos were almost unknown to white men and the western Eskimos implicitly believed that "they kill all strangers." After a winter spent in this region, Mr. Stefansson passed east into the vicinity of Coronation Gulf where he found the first of the so-called "blond" Eskimos among tribes numbering about two thousand people, many of whom had never seen a white man, in a land heretofore marked "uninhabited." Mr. Stefansson remained a year among these hospitable people and his studies of them are of exceptional value because of the fact that their language differs but little from that of the western Eskimo, with whom he had lived and traveled for three years.

The essential difference between Mr. Stefansson's method and that of the typical Arctic expedition lies in the fact that he does not carry stores of food and extra clothing, but lives with the Eskimo on the game of the country. By this method he has been able to add much to the geography of the hitherto almost unknown region lying to the northeast of Great Bear Lake and to correct a number of errors on the present maps. His greatest contribution is undoubtedly to the ethnology of these primitive people of the Stone Age, whose knowledge of the use of metals is confined to the rude knives and axes hammered from single pieces of drift copper.

Mr. Stefansson told the story of these years of exploration and of their results in a series of three illustrated lectures entitled, "Five

Years of Exploration in the Arctic," "The Discovery of the Blond Eskimo," and "The Mind of Primitive Man," and in informal talks before several of the classes of the University. While here he was also the guest of the Icelandic Society in the work of which he is much interested.

**Life Purpose
Meetings**

A week of significant meetings was held at the University during the middle of February. These meetings were called Life Purpose Meetings, the object being to bring to the attention of the student body the serious phases of life and the relation of religious purpose to them. Thru the cooperation of the University religious organizations and Wesley College, Dr. S. S. Klyne of Minneapolis was brought to the University and for a number of days he presented helpful sermons bringing forth the points referred to above. The work was effectively assisted by the presence of Miss Eva Morris, District Intercollegiate Secretary of the Y. W. C. A. The meetings were, on the whole, well attended, and the laying of emphasis upon religion as an element of life disassociated it with the view of any specific organization, and a real service was unquestionably rendered to the student body. Another year the Life Purpose Meetings will be better organized and better coordinated and will undoubtedly do much to bring to the attention of the students the helpful influence of religion in everyday life.

**Physical
Education**

Mr. Clarke W. Hetherington, who for some years was Director of Physical Education at the University of Missouri and later the representative of the Fels Foundation, has been rightly referred to as the leading advocate of the new view of physical education. It is his insistence that exercise is an essential for all students and physical training a part of education as much as the curriculum of any other department. He emphasizes play for all.

Mr. Hetherington came to the University the last week in February for the purpose of conferring with President McVey and the representatives of the Athletic Association upon the specific problems that exist here. The recommendations which he made, upon adoption of them by the Board of Trustees, will be carried out during the coming year. They include material changes in the gymnasium, enlargement of fields, the employment of a Director of Physical Education and an assistant, together with the effort to inject a

new spirit into the whole work of physical education at the University. Those who are familiar with the plans are full of enthusiasm over their probable results.

Death of Professor LeDaum It is in the midst of universal sorrow that this issue of the *Quarterly Journal* notes the death of Henry Le Daum, Professor of Romance Languages in the University of North Dakota. He took to his bed during the last week in February with an attack of pneumonia, grew steadily worse, contracted uremic poisoning, and passed away at eleven o'clock on the night of March 10th. An appreciative memorial service was held at the University during the forenoon of the 13th, and a funeral service at the Presbyterian Church, Grand Forks, in the afternoon of the same day.

Professor Le Daum was born at La Chaux de Fonds, Switzerland, February 26, 1872. He received his elementary education there and came to the United States at the age of fifteen. The most of his secondary schooling was secured at the Ohio Wesleyan University, where he also obtained his college training. He spent a year at Harvard, taking his bachelor's degree, about six months at Heidelberg University, Germany, and some time at the University of Chicago. He taught French at Northwestern University from 1898 to 1904; held a position in an Oklahoma college during 1905; was acting head of the department of Romance Languages in the University of Iowa from 1905 to 1907; and was head of the same department in the University of North Dakota during the subsequent time. In this last period he traveled and studied linguistic matters in Canada, Mexico, Louisiana, Spain, and Italy. He did much to promote the teaching of Italian in the United States. He had edited a text of Molière and had published several important linguistic and literary studies.

He was an intensive student, broad and progressive in his outlook, constructive in his departmental and institutional life, loved by all his associates. He will be profoundly missed in the University and the community.

Manitoba Exchange Lectureship The plan of exchanging lecturers with the University of Manitoba which was inaugurated last year has been continued with so much mutual enjoyment and benefit that both institutions are thoroly committed to the policy of continuing the custom.

The first visitor from the Canadian institution this year was Professor M. A. Parker, head of the department of chemistry, who delivered an address to the science classes on "The Structure of Molecules," and a convocation address, "Chemistry a beneficent Science." Professor Parker was also present at the regular meeting of the University Club and spoke informally upon the topic, "Research in the University." During his stay informal dinners and other meetings afforded pleasant opportunity for free discussion of scientific and educational problems and all were delighted with the strong and pleasing personality of Professor Parker.

Professor George A. Abbott, head of the department of chemistry in the University of North Dakota, was the first speaker invited by the University of Manitoba this year. On February 17th he addressed the Science Club of the University of Manitoba on "The Modern Theory of Solutions." After the meeting adjourned he was the guest at an informal luncheon where opportunity was afforded to meet the members of the Club in informal discussion. Numerous occasions were afforded to meet the science men socially, and Dr. Abbott was the personal guest of Professor Parker and Professor Allen. An address was also delivered to the student body of the University upon the subject, "Matter in the Making."

The second lecturer from the University of Manitoba was Professor A. H. Reginald Buller, head of the department of Botany, who arrived on February 27th. During his stay Professor Buller delivered lectures upon the following subjects: "Chemiotaxis," "Toad stools and Mushrooms" (Illustrated), "Eugenics" (Illustrated), and the convocation address, "The Progress of Science." All of the lectures were delivered in a masterful way and were received with enthusiasm. Professor Buller's lectures were especially interesting in view of his own contributions to botanical science.

Professor Gottfried H. Hult, of the department of Greek Language and Literature, was the second representative from the University of North Dakota to visit the northern institution. On March 11, 12, and 13 he delivered the following addresses: "A Reinterpretation of Walt Whitman," "Literary Longevity," and "The Mind of Shakespeare." Professor Hult was honored with an invitation to speak before the "Dickens Fellowship" of the city of Winnipeg, and also before the student body of the University of Manitoba.

Industrial Exhibits

During the year the Chemistry Department has been the recipient of many courtesies from various manufacturers who have presented exhibits illustrating the ap-

plications of chemistry in industry. These collections are particularly useful to students who are situated so remote from manufacturing regions. Particularly interesting is a complete series of large photographs showing the metallurgy of iron from the location of the mines thru the various operations of mining, shipping, smelting and rolling of the iron and steel. Among the other samples are charts and samples illustrating the milling of wheat, exhibits of petroleum products, paints, soda manufacture, artificial graphite, corn products, etc.

Announcement

THE Quarterly Journal is a periodical maintained by the University of North Dakota. Its primary function is to represent the varied activities of the several colleges and departments of the University, tho it is not limited to that. Contributions from other sources are welcomed, especially when they are the fruitage of scientific research, literary investigation or other forms of constructive thought. Correspondence is solicited.

The subscription price is one dollar a year, single numbers, thirty cents.

All communications should be addressed,

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL,
University, North Dakota

Editor's Bulletin Board

THE next number of the QUARTERLY JOURNAL, the first of Volume IV, and bearing the date, October, 1913, will represent the physical and engineering sciences. Among the articles already submitted, from which the table of contents will be made up, are the following: "The Effect of Group Frequency on the Transmissivity of Electromagnetic Waves," (Dr. Taylor); "Radioactivity in North Dakota," (Dr. Abbott); "Corrosion of Iron Pipes by Filtered Water with Alum Coagulation," (Dr. Ruediger); "Writing Engineering Reports," (Dr. Stephenson); "The Synchronous Motor as a Synchronous Condenser," (Professor Rhodes); "The Accuracy of Estimates Without Verniers," (Professor Chandler); "The Relation of Science and Industry," (Professor Babcock), and "A Geological Map of North Dakota," (Dr. Leonard).

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THE REGISTRAR,
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The Quarterly Journal

VOLUME 3

JULY, 1913

NUMBER 4

Political Factions in Washington's Administrations

O. G. LIBBY,

Professor of History, University of North Dakota

ANY profitable discussion of our early political parties must necessarily be rendered difficult by the fact of the long existence of party divisions among us and the important part they have played in the actual working of our representative system. The average student of the subject is very prone to start with party machinery as existing today and trace it back to 1789 with a few modifications here and there to give the earlier parties an appearance of age, and to make the facts of their history correspond as far as possible with the theory. This has been carried so far that it has sometimes taken the form of graphic charts representing political parties as broad bands extending continuously from 1789 to the present time, with such changes of names as are necessary to indicate evolution or decline. It is, of course, unnecessary to point out that such devices always conceal more of the facts than they show, and that they rest upon a false hypothesis. But the assumptions in history and in human nature upon which such misleading representations are based, are quite generally accepted as truth and very little effort has been made to prove or to disprove them. One of these assumptions is that political parties have existed thruout the entire course of our national history. But this takes no account of certain clearly defined transitional periods when parties are non-existent. Again, it is taken for granted that if the names of old or defunct political organizations are used by contemporary writers or public men, this constitutes proof of the existence of such parties during their time. This species of reasoning is also often used in discussions over the origin of parties. Contemporary opinion can always be accepted as valid evidence for certain groups of facts, but it is far from covering the whole ground. There is no inherent infallibility in the opinion of any observer regarding tendencies and trend of thought in his own time. He may

report the bare facts correctly but he is quite often entirely unaware of the larger whole in which these facts, in conjunction with many others, may be made to reveal movements of much broader scope.

A political party can hardly be said to have an existence unless some issue of more than passing or local importance lies back of its appearance and upon which the majority of its members have taken their stand. A second essential in a political party is that its members and representatives are sufficiently intelligent to stand together on all votes and elections involving the issue or issues of the day which the party has accepted as its own. The presence of a party leader or leaders is generally considered essential to successful continuance in the field of politics, tho this is a variable factor, subject to considerable fluctuation from time to time. Lastly, the parties of a given period cease to exist when the issue that divides them, for sufficient reason, has ceased to have any further importance. In considering the factional divisions during the administrations of Washington, one must bear in mind that the issue that had divided Federalist from Anti-Federalist, namely, the adoption of the new constitution, no longer existed in 1789, with the inauguration of our first president. Consequent upon the passing away of this particular issue, the two parties that had fought over it had also passed away in every one of the original thirteen states, except perhaps in the faction-ridden state of Rhode Island. So simple and plain a proposition as this seems to have given endless trouble to historians. Some have ignored it wholly and thus have avoided all need of considering the facts of the case. Others have contented themselves with using contemporary terms without examining too nicely into their significance as party designations. A few have laid emphasis upon the divisions over the important questions that came up in Congress and have avoided mention of the confusing multiplicity of party names with which this period abounds.

It is evident from this widely divergent practise in dealing with the political factions of the period, that little has actually been contributed either in evidence or research to the solution of these questions that confront us at the outset of our national history. The fact that well defined national parties existed prior to this period furnishes an excellent background for the study of party evolution at a later time. The party divisions known as Whig and Loyalist, or Tory, that first sundered us into two warring groups, passed thru a distinct life history and disappeared completely at the close of the Revolutionary War. The Federalist and Anti-Federalist parties had a still shorter existence, since the struggle over our new constitution

was very brief. With the inauguration of Washington as our first president and the organization of the new government in 1789, it was natural enough that there should be a wide divergence of views among our public men over the concrete application of the constitution to the problem of actual government. There is also to be reckoned with the constituency of the Congressmen who would be sure, as time went on, to become better acquainted with the Federal situation and to desire a hearing on those matters of most vital concern to them. The question proposed in this paper is, did these differences of opinion among the leaders in Congress and in the states, and the increasing importance of the constituent in all public discussions, produce sufficiently coherent groups to warrant their being recognized as political parties.

In studying this question it is proposed to confine the inquiry to a careful examination of the votes in the Federal House of Representatives. In this body of men and in no other could the popular will find adequate expression, first because of the popular nature of the election and second, from the frequency with which the constituent could call his representative to account for his record in Congress. The Senate did not so well reflect this changing public sentiment and remained, as it was intended by the framers of the Constitution, the more conservative body during the period we are considering. If there can be found evidence of party lines and party machinery in Congress, there will then be no doubt of the existence of parties in the several states and sections of the new Union. If such evidence does not appear sufficiently well defined here, at this national focus of all the factions and rivalries of every part of the country, there will be little excuse for searching elsewhere.

Little stress will be laid on the speeches made by the members of the House, since the proportion of speakers is always small in comparison to the entire body of members; the ratio varies from one-fifth to one-tenth in the different Congresses. The debate is valuable in many cases as giving the reasons for opposition or support, but this material must always be handled with care, and only for defining the position taken by the individual members speaking. Any effort to use the arguments presented as representing the opinions or the reasoning of any considerable number of silent voters is apt to be misleading and unfair.

I

It is evident that the parties of the period preceding 1789 did not continue over into the first administration of Washington, for

the issue that divided them was set at rest by the adoption of the constitution. Moreover, the two leading Federalists in 1788, Hamilton and Madison, found themselves opposed to each other in the discussions that arose under the new administration. If we assume, as is so often done, that the parties in 1789 were still the Federal and the Anti-Federal, we must at least state the issues that served to divide them, and we must also name the leaders who arranged a program of action and laid down the fundamental principles upon which the two parties were to base their opposition or support to the many measures sure to come up in the first session of the new Congress.

In looking over the membership of the first Congress and in reviewing the work of the two sessions, it is at once apparent that there was a complete lack of leadership within the House and that the larger number of important measures considered by its members, originated from the program mapped out by the able secretary of treasury, Alexander Hamilton. His opponent, Jefferson, also a member of Washington's cabinet, was entirely unable to offer effective resistance to these well planned measures for revenue, assumption and bank charter, nor was he yet ready to offer any counter theory to the new and entirely unexpected claim of implied powers under the constitution. Thus, left to their own individual preferences and sectional leanings, the members of the House voted very much at random, except where their own interests dictated a clear line of action.

In selecting the measures for study, the aim has been to use only those that may properly be considered as national, as having a bearing on the central administration in any vital way. Table I. presents the measures selected from those up for discussion and settlement in the first Congress. The yeas and nays on each measure have been arranged so as to throw into the first column all yeas and nays that may be considered as favoring the interests of the Federal government, or in any way tending to further the plans or work of any department or official. In the second column are placed all that have the opposite tendency or purpose. While differences of opinion may exist as to the details of this classification, the number of measures selected for each of the Congresses is sufficiently large to render the conclusions reasonably certain and to make the totals for the most part as mathematically accurate as could be expected in work of this nature.

It will be noticed in Table I. that of the twenty-one votes listed, thirteen of them have to do with measures initiated by Hamilton. They include such important matters as national bank, excise, tariff, assumption of national and state debts, and national mint. These

were all vital questions, and upon their settlement would rest the credit and prestige of the new nation, both at home and abroad. Thus without action on the part of the newly elected House of Representatives, the bulk of their work was determined for them in advance and the questions for discussion were placed before them by this adroit statesman with all the skill and cogency at his command. This is a factor of prime importance in considering the subject of party affiliations in the first Congress. The followers of Hamilton had ready at hand, arguments, statistics, constitutional law and precedent to be used in defending his advance position at the very outset of the first session and in pushing thru the mesures suggested in his report on revenues. If Hamilton had possessed qualities of leadership which would have fitted him to become a party leader, he would have found his party and his opportunity ready at hand. But because he lacked ability to lead men, and was rather careless of popularity, no party organization emerged from this initial contest over constitutional construction.

TABLE I

First Congress (1789-1791), House of Representatives
Yeas and Nays on Principal Mesures

I. National Bank			
1. Feb. 1, 1791	.....	34 yeas	23 yeas
2. Feb. 8, 1791	.....	39 yeas	20 yeas
II. Excise			
3. June 21, 1790	Liquor tax	23 yeas	35 yeas
4. Jan. 24, 1791	Limiting time of duration for excise tax....	39 yeas	19 yeas
5. Jan. 25, 1791	Liquor tax	35 yeas	21 yeas
6. Jan. 27, 1791	Liquor tax	35 yeas	21 yeas
III. Duties on Imports			
7. July 19, 1790	Tariff on imports.....	39 yeas	13 yeas
8. Aug. 6, 1790	Lower duty on salt.....	35 yeas	23 yeas
IV. Assumption of State Debts			
9. Apr. 15, 1790	.....	23 yeas	33 yeas
10. Apr. 26, 1790	.....	18 yeas	32 yeas
11. July 24, 1790	.....	32 yeas	29 yeas
12. July 26, 1790	.....	34 yeas	28 yeas
V. Provisions relating to Central Government			
13. June 24, 1789	Establishment of Department of Foreign Affairs	29 yeas	22 yeas
14. Aug. 10, 1789	Compensation of members of Congress.....	30 yeas	16 yeas
15. Aug. 12, 1789	Appropriation for Indian treaties.....	28 yeas	23 yeas
16. Aug. 21, 1789	Power of Congress to alter times, places, etc. of elections of senators and representatives	28 yeas	23 yeas
17. Aug. 22, 1789	Power of Congress to lay direct tax (requisitions on states).....	39 yeas	9 yeas
18. Aug. 29, 1789	Salaries of officers in executive department..	27 yeas	16 yeas
19. Sept. 29, 1789	Power of President to call out militia against the Indians	25 yeas	16 yeas
20. June 22, 1790	Appropriating money for Indian goods to use in negotiating treaties.....	26 yeas	27 yeas
21. Mar. 3, 1791	United States Mint.....	25 yeas	21 yeas

Table II. shows the yeas and nays on the twenty-one mesures already referred to. The vote of each member is given in order upon each of the mesures numbered to correspond with Table I.

TABLE II

Members of the House of Representatives		Yeas and Nays in House of Repre- sentatives, First Congress, 1789-91																			Totals	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
New Hampshire—	Foster	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	13—5
	Gilman	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	13—7
	Livermore	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	11—10
Massachusetts—	Ames	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	15—5
	Gerry	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	12—8
	Goodhue	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	15—3
	Grout	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	7—1
	Leonard	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	10—5
	Partridge	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	10—7
	Sedgwick	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	12—4
Connecticut—	Thacher	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	10—9
	Huntington	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	13—4
	Sherman	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	16—4
	Sturges	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	15—4
	Trumbull	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	15—5
Rhode Island—	Wadsworth	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	15—5
	Bourne	+	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	4—1
New York—	Benson	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	14—5
	Floyd	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	10—10
	Hathorne	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	4—14
	Laurence	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	15—5
	Silvester	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	16—5
	Van Rensselaer	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	6—15
New Jersey—	Boudinot	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	14—3
	Cadwallader	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	17—2
	Schureman	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	12—5
	Sinnickson	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	14—5
Pennsylvania—	Clymer	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	15—3
	Fitzsimons	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	17—3
	Hartley	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	12—7
	Helster	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	11—9
	P. Muhlenberg	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	12—8
	Scott	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	12—7
	Wynkoop	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	13—2
Delaware—	Vining	■	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	18—0
Maryland—	Carroll	+	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	11—6
	Contee	+	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	5—7
	Gale	+	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	11—4
	Seney	+	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	11—10
	W. Smith	+	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	8—13
	Stone	+	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	6—12
Virginia—	Bland	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	3—0
	Browne	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	9—10
	Coles	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	5—9
	Giles	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	0—6
	Griffin	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	8—7
	Lee	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	14—6
	Madison	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	11—8
	Moore	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	7—13
	Page	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	5—8
	Parker	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	4—14
	White	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	9—7
	North Carolina—	Ashe	+	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Bloodworth		+	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	3—10
Sevier		○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	4—6
Steele		○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	5—8
Williamson		○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	3—9
South Carolina—	Burke	+	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	9—10
	Huger	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	3—2
	W. Smith	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	12—7
	Sumter	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	6—10
	Tucker	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	9—11
Georgia—	Baldwin	+	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	6—12
	Jackson	+	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	7—13
	Matthews	+	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	7—13

■ Administration Vote. + Anti-Administration Vote. ○ Not Voting
 Those supporting the Federal Government 24
 Those opposing the Federal Government 7
 Those divided in the ratio of two to one 34

From the total yeas and nays of each member it is seen that they fall into three groups, those supporting the government, those opposing it by about the same majority and those divided between the support and opposition by the ratio of at least two to one. The largest group of members is the one composed of those divided in vote, numbering thirty-one, the members supporting the government, twenty-four and those opposed, seven. This showing is certainly not indicative of distinct party groups. Moreover, in the group supporting the government an opposition vote was cast averaging considerably more than 25% of the total. It is to be noted, further, that in the New England delegation none of the members voted alike in their support of and opposition to the measures. The absence of such leadership is also a feature of the other delegations, only two members out of thirty in the Southern delegation voting together. Even Madison, undoubtedly the most influential member of the Virginia delegation, seems to have been without any personal following, if we can judge by the evidence of the yeas and nays recorded for those over whom he might be supposed to exercise some considerable influence.

In the case of the struggle over assumption of state debts, there is no lack of personal influence in the final determination of the question. When this measure was blocked in the House by a majority that could not be overcome by argument or persuasion, Hamilton adroitly linked this unpopular measure with the purely sectional question of the location of the Federal Capital. The success of the manoeuvre is well known; after the injection of this new issue into the contest, eleven votes shifted from opposition to support of the assumption measure, three from Pennsylvania, and two each from Virginia, South Carolina, New Jersey and Maryland. The entire transaction serves to indicate the looseness of the tie that united the various sectional factions of the time. Had Jefferson been conscious of a coherent organization supporting him in his opposition to assumption, he would have scorned to assist Hamilton in securing the passage of this measure in return for the latter's aid in fixing the capital site on the Potomac. As it was, in the absence of any party obligation, he joined his personal opponent in a transaction which, had he been at that time a party leader, would have lost him his political prestige forever.

There was another factor in the political situation which needs to be taken into account. It was Washington's firm conviction that party divisions were bad, and at the beginning of his career as president he tried to carry out a deliberate and well conceived plan for blotting out all existing party and factional lines. His cabinet

appointments were made with this in view, and the association of Hamilton and Jefferson in the same official family undoubtedly did have its influence in keeping these two leaders quite fully occupied with their official duties, and in confining their mutual hostility within the limits of cabinet conferences and official communications to the president. That President Washington did not mistake his opportunity has just been shown by an analysis of the votes in the House of Representatives upon the principal measures coming before it. This is also evident from the fact that Hamilton was able to use Jefferson and certain representatives from the states adjoining the Potomac capital site and Philadelphia (the temporary capital for ten years) to carry out the most objectionable feature of his program.

If we examine the table for evidence of an opposition party, we are left still more in doubt. There were plenty of opposition votes but they were so scattered, both as to measures and as to delegations, that they can hardly be said to show much evidence of organization. Madison, undoubtedly the most influential member of the Virginia delegation, took certain positions with reference to the various measures different from any of his colleagues. If all the yeas and nays are examined it will be discovered that the representatives south of Delaware seem to have expressed their own individual views in their yeas and nays, and that apparently no one member influenced the others or to any considerable extent had been influenced by other members.

In summing up the evidence so far examined, we can be reasonably safe in stating three conclusions. There was no program arranged by party leaders beforehand and pushed thru in spite of all opposition. The measures discussed and voted on were partly suggested by Hamilton and were partly the result of some special opposition to the working of the new constitution or of the new national government. Lastly, there were no conspicuous leaders in the House whose views carried sufficient weight to ensure certain support for a particular measure, or whose personal influence could be depended upon to carry measures thru in spite of all opposition.

II.

In the second Congress the membership was considerably changed and four additional members came in from the new states of Vermont and Kentucky. The state delegations show a change of some forty per cent, quite enough to keep the House fully abreast of the general current of public opinion. Nevertheless, when the votes are compared and analyzed, there will be found the same lack

of party coherence and the same minute subdivisions of factions so characteristic of the first Congress.

Table III. gives the principal mesures which will be studied in connection with our problem for the second Congress. The yeas and nays are arranged with reference to support and opposition of the Federal government in the same manner as those for the first Congress in Table I.

TABLE III
Second Congress (1791-93), House of Representatives
Yeas and Nays on Principal Mesures

1.	Feb. 1, 1792	Raising revenue for protection of frontiers (Secretary of Treasury involved).....	29 yeas	19 nays
2.	Mar. 6, 1792	Establishing uniform militia throuth the United States	31 yeas	27 nays
3.	Mar. 8, 1792	Secretary of Treasury to report to House on modes of raising current revenue. (Cabinet interference in legislation)	31 yeas	27 nays
4.	Mar. 26, 1792	Establishment of United States Mint....	32 yeas	22 nays
5.	April 2, 1792	Public debt (unlimited redemption for all future debt)		
6.	April 3, 1792	Public debt (to include state debts already paid since 1783).....	30 nays	22 yeas
7.	April 12, 1792	President authorized to call out militia (power of President over army).....	24 yeas	37 nays
8.	April 18, 1792	Limiting revenue act for protection of frontier to 1793	32 nays	32 yeas
9.	April 21, 1792	Raising revenues for protection of frontiers (encouragement of manufactures and fisheries)	37 yeas	20 nays
10.	Nov. 21, 1792	Striking out reference to Secretary of Treasury in financial report to House.....	32 nays	25 yeas
11.	Dec. 18, 1792	Authorizing President to use troops against Cherokees	21 yeas	27 nays
12.	Dec. 26, 1792	Loan to pay debt to National Bank reduced from \$2,000,000 to \$200,000	27 nays	27 yeas
13.	Jan. 8, 1793	Reduction of military establishment of United States	36 nays	20 yeas
14.	Jan. 12, 1793	Public Debt, loans to be opened in several states upon their consent.....	34 yeas	28 nays
15.	Jan. 24, 1793	Balances due certain states (public debt). No state certificate to have been sold or transferred prior to Jan. 1, 1793.....	33 nays	30 yeas
16.	Jan. 24, 1793	Balances due certain states to be limited to services or supplies furnished in Revolutionary War	30 nays	29 yeas
17.	Jan. 25, 1793	Settlement of balances due certain states....	33 yeas	32 nays
18.	Jan. 28, 1793	Settlement of balances due certain states....	33 yeas	32 nays
19.	Feb. 7, 1793	Compensation of President and Vice-President to be limited to four years.....	33 nays	27 yeas
20.	Feb. 22, 1793	War Department appropriation not to be itemized	30 yeas	31 nays
21.	Feb. 23, 1793	Vesting in the President discretionary power of payment of national debt up to \$50,000	34 yeas	25 nays
22.	Mar. 1, 1793	Disagreeing with resolution condemning official conduct of Secretary of Treasury	40 yeas	12 nays
23.	Mar. 1, 1793	Disagreeing with resolution condemning official conduct of Secretary of Treasury	39 yeas	12 nays
24.	Mar. 1, 1793	Disagreeing with resolution condemning official conduct of Secretary of Treasury	33 yeas	15 nays
25.	Mar. 1, 1793	Disagreeing with resolution condemning official conduct of Secretary of Treasury	33 yeas	8 nays
26.	Mar. 1, 1794	Disagreeing with resolution condemning official conduct of Secretary of Treasury	33 yeas	8 nays
27.	Mar. 1, 1793	Disagreeing with resolution condemning official conduct of Secretary of Treasury	34 yeas	7 nays

A brief examination of these mesures will make it plain that they are not essentially different from those of the preceding Con-

gress. Ten of these mesures are the continuation of Hamilton's revenue plans, which were the subject of such bitter opposition in the first Congress.¹ Eight others are covert or direct attacks upon Hamilton, arising largely from his predominating influence in the cabinet.² Five of these mesures are connected with the privileges and prerogatives of the president.³ Altogether, these make up twenty-three of the twenty-seven mesures, and they form the most important work of the two sessions.

While, therefore, the principal discussions and contests in the first Congress were over the mesures growing out of Hamilton's masterly reports on the reorganization of the revenue system, in the second Congress came the inevitable reaction against the tendencies and aims of his proposals, and, naturally enough, President Washington shared in the attack upon the author of mesures to which he had given the support of his official approval. The Virginia and North Carolina delegations led in this opposition which runs thru both sessions. It ends in the humiliating overthrow of March 1, 1793, when the anti-Hamilton faction was reduced to a mere handful, seven members, only, voting with the opposition in the last roll call. This may well be considered to mark the end of Jefferson's initial essay at the organization of an anti-administration party. A defeat so overwhelming as this, coupled with the inevitable reaction from the excesses of the pro-French faction during the summer of 1793, convinced him as well as Madison of the impossibility of founding a political party at so unpropitious a moment. Jefferson had by this time discovered that the American people were slowly adjusting themselves to the new situation created by the establishment of a strong central government, and no considerable body of them were in a mood to follow a leader who would interfere with the restoration of credit, the revival of business activity and the opening of western lands, all of which were among the tangible results that were coming to pass from the wise reforms inaugurated under the new regime.

But if the faction led by Jefferson and Madison failed to develop party organization, the same can be said as to the support which came from the administration group. Up to January 12, 1793, or until the vote on the mesure listed as No. 14 in table III., there was much straggling and irregular voting. In the New England delegation, where the faction that supported Hamilton was strongest, the vote stood approximately two to one in support of the thirteen

1. These mesures appear in Table III. as Nos. 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18.

2. See Nos. 3, 10, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 27 in Table III.

3. See Nos. 7, 11, 13, 19 and 21 in Table III.

mesures voted upon up to that time.⁴ There seems to have been no House leader and no concerted policy or program. At critical points on important questions, members failed to respond to the roll call, in this particular delegation it occurred in nearly all of the thirteen roll calls.⁵ From this date there was a very decided administration rally, and it proved to be so effective that all opposition seems to have gone down before it. Referring to the table showing the yea and nay votes it can be seen that thirty-two gave a large majority of their votes to the support of the administration, twenty-three were in the opposition and fourteen were fairly divided in their vote. Compared to the showing in the first Congress, there seems to have been a very decided grouping into something approaching parties. But the defeat on the culminating issue at the end of the session showed conclusively how transitory were the affiliations that had so far held the groups together.

No effective opposition remained at the end of this Congress which could be rallied again to the attack. Even Jefferson realized this when he asked Washington to consent to serve a second term. It was clear to every one in position of responsibility that the period of transition was not over, and that public opinion was still unformed. Moreover, the Federal Government had not yet assumed such a position as would attract men away from their own states into the wider fields of national service.

4. The total number of yeas and nays of the entire New England delegation on the first thirteen mesures was 140 to 65.

5. See Table IV., page 304.

TABLE IV

Membership of the House of Representatives	Yeas and Nays in House of Representatives Second Congress, 1791-93	Totals
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27	
New Hampshire—		
Gilman	+	23—4
Livermore	+	21—5
Jere. Smith	+	12—10
Vermont—		
Niles	+	10—17
Isr. Smith	+	6—12
Massachusetts—		
Ames	+	26—0
S. Bourne	+	24—3
Gerry	+	24—2
Goodhue	+	24—3
Leonard	+	16—2
Sedgwick	+	16—2
Thacher	+	22—1
Ward	+	23—3
Connecticut—		
Hillhouse	+	22—4
Larned	+	23—3
Sturges	+	25—1
Trumbull	+	20—5
Wadsworth	+	4—0
Rhode Island—		
B. Bourne	+	18—2
Delaware—		
Vining	+	25—2
New York—		
Benson	+	5—1
Gordon	+	26—0
Lawrence	+	21—4
Schoonmaker	+	24—1
Silverster	+	3—13
Tredwell	+	18—3
New Jersey—		
Boudinot	+	1—19
Clark	+	22—3
Dayton	+	7—12
Kitchell	+	16—3
Pennsylvania—		
Findlay	+	14—13
Fitzsimons	+	6—21
Gregg	+	23—3
Hartley	+	3—15
Heister	+	23—2
Jacobs	+	1—14
Kittera	+	4—9
Muhlenberg	+	14—2
	+	20—5

III.

The third Congress is notable for the resignation of both Jefferson and Hamilton, the former at the beginning of the first session and the latter toward the close of the second session. For neither of these men did this mean any cessation of active participation in the political strife of the time, but it marks the partial abandonment by Washington of his plan of bringing into his cabinet the leaders of opposing factions for the purpose of rendering such differences less pronounced and to prevent these factions from developing into sharply defined parties. While the policy had not been adhered to sufficiently long to have a permanent result, yet the initial opportunity to build up a strong party during the first Congress did not soon again offer itself to Jefferson and Madison.

During the third Congress two important matters came prominently forward and monopolized public attention. The first was Hamilton's excise and other tax measures and his assumption of state debts. From table V. it can be seen that eighteen out of thirty-three votes studied in this Congress are included under the first group. These taxes, especially the excise and stamp tax, proved to be a

TABLE V

Third Congress (1793-95), House of Representatives
Yeas and Nays on Principal Measures

				Yeas	Nays
1.	May	7, 1794	Carriage tax	54	34
2.	May	8, 1794	Stamp tax	35	58
3.	May	8, 1794	Excise on tobacco.....	45	41
4.	May	9, 1794	Tonnage of United States ships	37	50
5.	May	9, 1794	Tonnage on foreign ships.....	25	61
6.	May	10, 1794	Tonnage on British ships.....	24	55
7.	May	10, 1794	Stamp tax on deeds.....	44	30
8.	May	16, 1794	Tonnage on United States ships.....	39	45
9.	May	19, 1794	Excise on sugar and tobacco.....	56	31
10.	May	26, 1794	Stamp tax	44	35
11.	May	27, 1794	Stamp tax	32	50
12.	May	29, 1794	Carriage tax	49	22
13.	May	31, 1794	Tax on licenses to sell liquor	53	23
14.	May	31, 1794	Tax on auction sales.....	55	27
15.	Apr.	15, 1794	Non-intercourse with Great Britain.....	53	44
16.	Apr.	18, 1794	Non-intercourse with Great Britain.....	57	42
17.	Apr.	21, 1794	Non-intercourse with Great Britain.....	58	38
18.	Apr.	24, 1794	Non-intercourse with Great Britain.....	57	34
19.	Apr.	25, 1794	Non-intercourse with Great Britain.....	58	34
20.	May	23, 1794	Non-intercourse with Great Britain.....	24	46
21.	Feb.	21, 1794	Increase of navy.....	43	41
22.	Mar.	10, 1794	Increase of navy.....	50	39
23.	June	4, 1794	Increase of navy.....	42	32
24.	May	19, 1794	Increase of army.....	30	50
25.	May	30, 1794	Increase of army.....	32	50
26.	June	6, 1794	Standing army vs. militia.....	26	42
27.	June	7, 1794	Standing army vs. militia.....	28	30
28.	May	31, 1794	Payment of debt to French Republic.....	53	23
29.	Jan.	2, 1795	Naturalization laws amended (No title of nobility in United States).....	59	32
30.	May	14, 1794	Assumption of state debts.....	52	37
31.	May	14, 1794	Assumption of state debts.....	51	36
32.	May	14, 1794	Assumption of state debts.....	53	33
33.	May	16, 1794	Assumption of state debts.....	52	33

fruitful source of disagreement among the members. Each delegation had different interests to protect or split apart on purely local matters, and this, coupled with the fact that the suggestions for the mesures originated with the Secretary of the Treasury, served to subdivide the members into the pettiest factions.

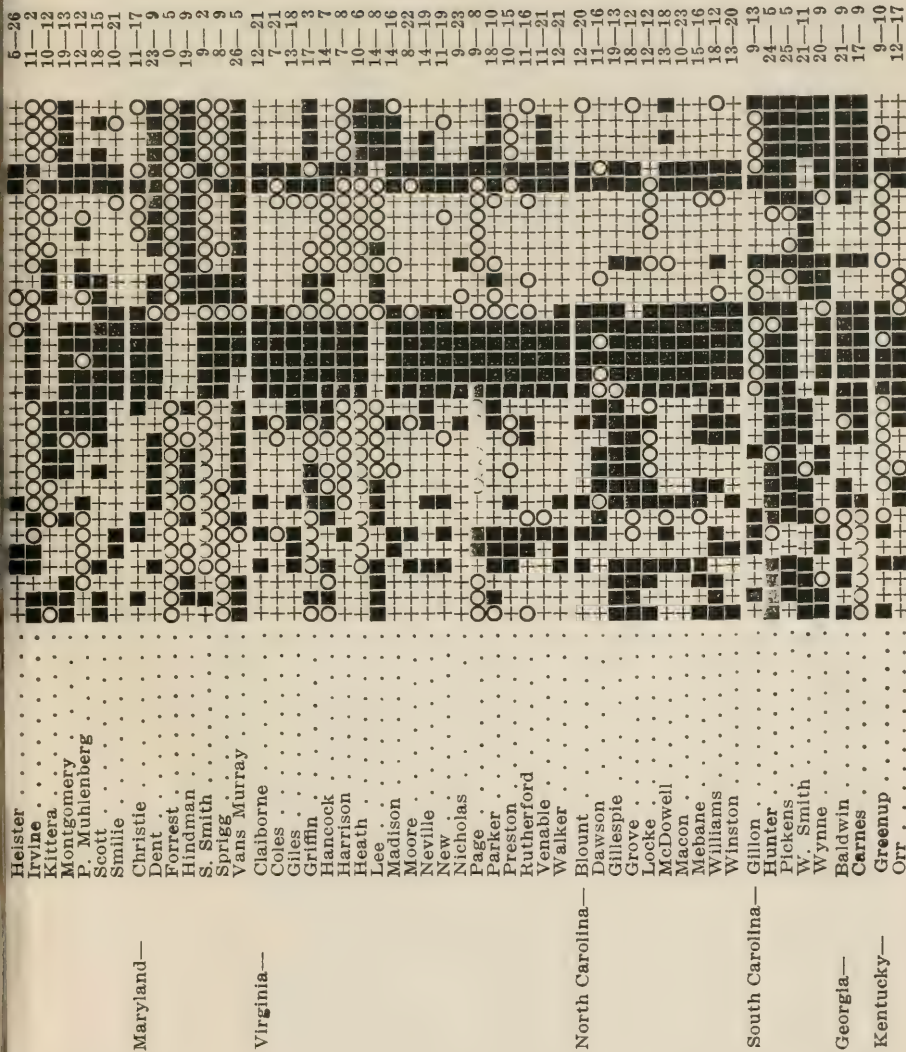
The second subject was the aggressions of Great Britain and the proper retaliatory mesures to be adopted. The matter was brought to the attention of Congress by Jefferson in his last report as Secretary of State, December 16, 1793. Madison's resolutions presenting Jefferson's plan of discriminating duties at first attracted but little favorable notice. When, however, the aggressions of Great Britain became more and more pronounced, still more stringent mesures were proposed and adopted. Non-intercourse with Great Britain was the final mesure used as a means of expressing this increasing hostility to British interference with our trade. Accompanying this, mesures for the increase of the army and navy also had strong advocates and correspondingly determined opponents. Thirteen votes altogether were taken on the whole subject, and the debate ranged over the entire field from British Indian trade to the relative merits of a standing army and the militia. A good illustration of the factional spirit animating many members of this Congress may be found in the vote over paying a debt unquestionably owed by us to the French Republic.⁶ Had there been party leaders on the floor of the House, or had there been a party organization worthy of the name, this matter would have passed without division. But so absorbed were the members in their own little cliques and hostilities, that there seems to have been at such times no appreciation of anything having wider scope. Ordinarily, members of a national party weigh their acts more carefully, so as to avoid injuring the prospects of the party they are supposed at all times to uphold. Similarly, the division over the question of a foreigner being allowed to retain a title of nobility after naturalization shows the same pettiness and lack of perspective.⁷

In table VI. are shown the yeas and nays in thirty-three votes. Seventeen members supported the government, eight opposed it, while seventy-six were divided in their votes.⁸ This is a significant political situation and is proof sufficient of the nature of the factions which have so long masqueraded in our history as political parties.

6. See Table V., No. 28.

7. See Table V., No. 29.

8. The votes of Edwards of Maryland and Benton of South Carolina are not counted in this total.



Not only was the opposition cut down to the same figure as in the test vote at the close of the second Congress, but the administration support had also dwindled away. Hamilton retired from the cabinet the last of January, 1795, but all of the contests of this Congress had already been fought out in the first session. Not one vote of importance seems to have been taken after the date of his retirement. Thus after six sessions of unexampled control over national legislation, affecting vitally the business interests and constitutional development of the nation, Hamilton's career as leader comes to an end. His last tax measure triumphantly passed in the House, and the slight local resistance to the revenue laws was put down with a firm hand. There was by this time no question as to his wisdom and foresight, and no factional attack would hereafter shake the confidence of the people in the soundness of his views. This did not prevent divisions of opinion as to details, but there was no longer any need for a program of defense, now that the plan of attack had so completely broken down. Factions were never so active in Congress as during these sessions, but their powerlessness to do harm was about on a par with the nature of the aid they were able to give to Hamilton in carrying out his program and policy.

IV.

The Fourth Congress was comparatively quiet and uneventful save for the contest over Jay's treaty. The revenue system of Hamilton with its related measures of assumption, national bank and U. S. mint had been fully established and the nation was becoming accustomed to the new burdens and responsibilities of central government. Washington's policy of neutrality had proved him eminently wise. The Jacobin clubs had dropped out of popular favor and Genet was forgotten. The Whiskey Rebellion had proved that the government was possessed of ample executive powers and the will to use them. Hamilton was no longer in the cabinet and the bitter personal opposition to his measures was thus conspicuously absent in the factional contests in this Congress. Of the thirteen votes studied, seven of them had to do with Jay's treaty. Two elements entered into this prolonged controversy. First, there was the western and southern hostility to Great Britain for her insults to our flag and the frontier outrages she was tacitly assenting to by her attitude regarding the western posts. The second was the constitutional question as to the part played by the House of Representatives in the treaty making power of the Senate and President, a question which remains today still unsettled. In connection with this latter point the votes on

increase of navy and on itemizing the appropriations for military and naval expenditure show how jealously the House was guarding its prerogative of control over all revenue and financial matters, and how quick its members were to anticipate any possible encroachment upon their constitutional rights. In defense of Jay's treaty those members whose constituents were interested in commerce voted as their obvious needs dictated. The treaty carried by the barest majority and the whole controversy slumbered till the renewed war between England and France in the Napoleonic period compelled a settlement of the dispute by an appeal to arms.

In arranging the yeas and nays in table VII. some question may be raised as to the vote numbered six in the table.⁹ It was a vote on a resolution declaring Jay's treaty a bad one but giving support to it on grounds of expediency and expressing, also, confidence in the President. It is the turning point of the whole contest and many members accepted it as a compromise and gave their support to it as they did also to the treaty in vote number seven. The supporters of the treaty, however, refused to accept the compromise and defeated the resolution. The supporters of the resolution are, nevertheless, listed in the table as being on the side of the government, tho it is conceivable that the vote might be given the other way.

TABLE VII
Fourth Congress (1795-97), House of Representatives
Yeas and Nays on Principal Mesures

1.	Mar. 24, 1796	Call of House for papers relating to treaty with Great Britain.....	37 nays	62 yeas
2.	Mar. 31, 1796	Call of House for papers relating to treaty with Great Britain.....	37 nays	55 yeas
3.	Apr. 6, 1796	Call of House for papers relating to treaty with Great Britain.....	36 nays	57 yeas
4.	Apr. 7, 1796	Treaty making power of House of Representatives	37 nays	54 yeas
5.	Apr. 30, 1796	Treaty making power of House of Representatives	35 nays	57 yeas
6.	Apr. 30, 1796	Jay's Treaty	49 yeas	50 nays
7.	Apr. 30, 1796	Jay's Treaty	51 yeas	48 nays
8.	May 6, 1796	Admission of Tennessee.....	43 yeas	30 nays
9.	May 28, 1796	Admission of Tennessee.....	48 yeas	30 nays
10.	Jan. 20, 1797	Land tax	48 yeas	39 nays
11.	Jan. 20, 1797	Slave tax	49 yeas	39 nays
12.	Apr. 8, 1797	Increase of navy.....	36 nays	55 yeas
13.	Mar. 3, 1797	War Department appropriation not to be itemized. (Discretionary power to spend)	36 yeas	52 nays

The yeas and nays on the thirteen votes are seen in table VIII. The most conspicuous feature of the table is the large divided vote,

9. *Annals of Congress, House of Representatives, April 30, 1796, page 1282.* "Resolved, That, Although in the opinion of this House, the Treaty is highly objectionable, and may prove injurious to the United States, yet, considering all the circumstances relating thereto, and particularly that the last eighteen articles are to continue in force only during the present year, and two years thereafter, and confiding also in the efficacy of measures that may be taken for bringing about a discontinuance of the violations committed on our neutral rights in regard to our vessels and seamen, therefore, etc."

TABLE VIII—Continued

Membership of the House of Representatives		Years and Nays in House of Representatives Second Congress, 1791-93												Totals	
		1791	1792	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799	1800	1801	1802		
Virginia—	Brent	○	○	○	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	5—	5
	Cabell				■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	4—	8
	Claiborne	○	○	○	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	3—	6
	Clopton				■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	2—	8
	Coles				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	4—	7
	Giles				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	3—	7
	Hancock				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	5—	6
	Harrison				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	5—	8
	Heath				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	2—	8
	Jackson	○			■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	3—	9
	Madison				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	5—	8
	Moore				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	5—	8
	New		○	○	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	5—	6
	Nicholas				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	5—	8
	Page				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	5—	7
	Parker				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	2—	8
	Preston				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	5—	7
	Rutherford				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	5—	8
	Venable				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	5—	3
North Carolina—	Blount				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	5—	8
	Bryan				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	2—	11
	Burgess	○			■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	3—	8
	Franklin				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	3—	10
	Gillespie	○	○		■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	3—	8
	Grove				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	5—	6
	Holland	○	○		■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	3—	8
	Locke				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	3—	10
	Macon				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	3—	10
	Tatom				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	3—	7
South Carolina—	Benton				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	3—	7
	Earle				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	2—	7
	Hampton				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	3—	9
	Harper	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	8—	5
	W. Smith	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	10—	3
	Wynn	○			■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	2—	9
Georgia—	Baldwin				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	4—	8
	Milledge				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	4—	8
Kentucky—	Greenup		○	○	■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	4—	5
	Orr				■	■	■	■	○	○	○	○	○	5—	7
Tennessee—	Jackson	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	0—	3

■ Administration Vote. + Anti-Administration Vote. ○ Not Voting.
 Those supporting the Federal Government 24
 Those opposing the Federal Government 35
 Those divided in the ratio of two to one 53

very nearly equaling in numbers the sum of the votes in support and opposition.¹⁰ As has been noted in preceding Congresses, the votes in defense of the government contain a large percentage of opposition, in this Congress it is twenty per cent. The same percentage is found also in the opposition vote. It is difficult to see how party organization can be discovered from such a showing. There was, during the two sessions, no program agreed on by any two groups of members in advance. Jay's treaty was a question as entirely outside their range of initiative as were Hamilton's plans for revenue, bank and assumption. Both Ames and Madison were divided in their votes in this Congress, their total votes being respectively three to three and five to eight. Of the 24 votes for the government, two

10. The vote of Skinner of Massachusetts is not counted in this total.

groups were found agreeing in their yeas and nays, seven in one group and three in another. Of the 34 opposition votes, two groups of ten and five respectively can be found. In all of these small groups, however, the number of absences among the members is relatively large so that if all had voted on every measure, it is doubtful whether even as much agreement as this could be found. The forces that tended to segregate members and attract them into a party were fairly balanced by numerous and well marked centrifugal tendencies. In summing up the votes for all four Congresses it will be found that the Federal Government was supported by 97 members, and was opposed by 73, a total of 170. Those members of Congress having a vote divided in the ratio of two to one numbered 177, a most significant fact with reference to the nature of the factions during this whole period.

V.

We may now well make inquiry at this point, as to what had been accomplished during the eight years and six congressional sessions covered by Washington's two terms. As far as colonial experience could aid them the new states had already provided amply for local self-government and they had made a beginning in the direction of central control. In comparing the state governments with the newly created Federal government, it is plain that all the advantage lay with the former. While both governments were sovereign in their own spheres, Federal office holders did not hold rank with such state officers as governors or judges in many of the states. Service under Federal authority did not in general carry with it the prestige of later years. The more radical champions of state authority were inclined to look upon the newly formed central government as an interloper. This feeling did not tend to grow less as time went on but rather became more sharply accentuated in the uncomfortable period of readjustment that began in 1789. It is not accurate to say that the mass of the American people were hostile to the Federal Government during the first eight years of its existence, but there was plainly manifest an attitude of passive resistance to many of its most important measures and a decided lack of spontaneity in their assent to its whole policy which was as natural as it was menacing to those who bore the burden of responsibility. This latent opposition, for the most part voiceless, and quite uninformed on public questions, as well as wholly without organization, was capable of acts of unreasoning violence such as were seen in the Genet excitement of 1793, the Whiskey Rebellion, and the lawlessness connected

with the discussion of the Jay treaty of 1795. Such phenomena as these are clear proof of the absence of regular party organization, thru the medium of which popular excitement can ordinarily vent itself more harmlessly. Lacking such normal channels for the expression of what seemed to be burning wrongs and unbearable grievances, mob violence was the inevitable resort of a highly excited people. The very impotence of the masses to affect any change in affairs made them more violent; lack of responsibility never fails to lead to just this result. If, on the other hand, the voters could have been summoned by party leaders to mass meetings and told that by proper self restraint, by resolutions, by petitions, and by instructions to representatives in Congress, they could exert a powerful influence toward altering the Federal policy, it is not at all unlikely that there would have been no resort to mob violence during any of these periods of excitement.

The absence of parties during Washington's administrations did, however, exercise a most beneficial influence upon the course of our development. The achievements of the new government during this short time are unquestionably among the most important in our history. Not only was our new government firmly grounded and our new constitution tried out, but certain basic relations were established upon which rest, in every well ordered society, the legal, the industrial and the social superstructure. To be more specific, Federal sovereignty was asserted over the states and over the individual. This assertion was validated, as far as the states were concerned, by the assumption of state debts, by the provision for levying an excise and by the new doctrine of implied powers. In every one of these instances the Federal power gained a point over the popular but fallacious theory of state sovereignty, a theory that meant, when actually put into practise, the absolute negation of general government. The individual was reached by the enforcement of the excise acts in the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794, in which our government gave an excellent demonstration of the strength of its executive department and the value it had in a well ordered state.

National credit was established; this accomplishment stands out against a background of previous acts, including irredeemable paper issues, stay and tender laws, interruption of judicial procedure by mob violence, and complete or partial repudiation of debts. The restoration of lost credit is a legal matter, it is a business transaction and it is a governmental affair. On the part of the government abundant revenues were created by a tax law, all debts were then formally assumed at their face value and the purely business proposition of

selling the bonds, collecting money and handling short loans, etc. was arranged for by chartering a well equipped corporation known as the National Bank.

Interest was enlisted on the side of the government, in other words, property, money, capital of all kinds, rallied to its support. The presence of a strong government in the process of rehabilitating its credit by revenue laws specially designed for that purpose acted like a powerful magnet to draw money out of its hiding places, whither it had been driven during the previous decade; and foreign capital also began to flow into the country. Federal bonds were a good investment and the national bank soon had abundant deposits for all credit transactions.

This remarkable transformation was the work of one man, Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of Treasury. President Washington, on his part, supported his brilliant cabinet officer and made it possible, by his prestige and by his unmatched administrative capacity, to put this program thru. Had it not been that party lines were fluid and that party organization and leadership were lacking, Hamilton would have failed in most of his essential undertakings. He was essentially a foreigner in America, he had no faith in any form of popular government nor in the ability of the people as a whole to take any effective part in it. He was distrusted, and rightly so, and he could at best command but a minority for the mesures which he laid before Congress, but that minority was well lead and he kept it steadily up to its task. The shifting, rudderless majority he broke to pieces again and again by a determined charge, as a mob breaks before a handful of soldiers.

That his mesures were wise and had a most beneficial effect, is evidenced by the fact that none of them were touched during the administration of his great opponent, Jefferson, tho several later mesures, not originating with Hamilton, and having nothing to recommend them, such as the Alien and Sedition laws and the Judiciary Act, were later made the subject of successful assault by the Jeffersonian Republicans. This disposes of the oft repeated charge that the American people were made the subject of unscrupulous aggression on the part of the capitalists during the first years of our history. There is no doubt but that unaided we were not equal to originating anything as statesmanlike as Hamilton's mesures at the time they were passed. It is not true, however, that we did not come later to see their value and profit by their wisdom. They could have been made a part of our system only by the unusual combination of the entire absence of party organization and the existence somewhere

within our governmental machinery of a leader, wise, shrewd and farsighted, and entirely willing to take the responsibility for such a program of measures as this.

The second achievement during this period was the complete severance of our nation from European alliances and the establishment of the policy of strict neutrality. This was accomplished by the Neutrality Proclamation of 1793 and Jay's treaty of 1794. There were two troublesome obstacles to this policy which Washington inaugurated. The first was the offensive and defensive alliance with France, signed in 1777, at a time when outside aid was apparently essential if we were to win in our conflict with England for independence. Our excuse for severing this alliance in 1793 was ostensibly that the government with which we had signed the treaty had been overturned by the French Revolution and conditions were too abnormal to make the treaty any longer valid. This interpretation of the treaty was far from being satisfactory to the French factions in this country, and President Washington was subject to the foulest abuse from former supporters and had to endure many slights and insults at the hands of the erratic French minister, Genet. What the consequences would have been had there been a strong and well organized party in the opposition we can only surmise. But to say the least, Washington's course would have been decidedly more uncertain. Similarly Jay's treaty of 1794 elicited an outburst of bitter vituperation from factions in Congress. The document was far from satisfactory but it completed the task so well begun by the Neutrality Proclamation two years before, and as a result of it we did not go to war either as a dependent ally of France or as a weak power asking renewed aid from some European country against our old enemy, England. In our weak condition, with a heavy debt and with the status of the Federal Government still uncertain, war would have been a very serious calamity, quite as harmful as a foreign alliance entailing aid in a war in which we had no concern. From these false steps our young republic was spared, thanks to the absence of party organization, to the conservative leadership of Washington and Jay and to the aid extorted from Jefferson who was wise enough to see the necessity of such a policy while not wholly willing to go entirely over to the support of the government in carrying it out. As in the case of Hamilton's measures, so in Washington's neutrality policy, the plans of a few leaders supported by a small but compact minority prevailed over a large and disorderly opposition. In each case, also, the ultimate verdict of the majority of the American voters amply confirmed the policies adopted at this earlier time.

The justification for such a course was the immediate need at a critical period in our history, when public opinion was unformed and the prevailing ignorance of the impending danger was a real menace to the general welfare.

With Washington's retirement to private life and the election of John Adams to the office of president, the anti-Administration forces rallied anew. Besides this, Hamilton threw the whole force of his influence into the congenial task of discrediting and embarrassing President Adams. The wisdom and prudence of his predecessor were both wanting in the new president, and he lacked, too, that foresight which was peculiarly demanded at this time in our history. In spite of these drawbacks, however, catastrophe might have been avoided had not the entanglement with France occurred. By strange force of circumstances the administration found its way into brief popular favor. This mood of the hour was made use of by a small group of would-be leaders to pass the alien and sedition laws, measures which, in their factional blindness, they deemed sufficient to secure to themselves an indefinite lease of power in the future. No member of the petty factions of the time looked upon these measures as having especial political potentiality. To Jefferson they offered what he had been seeking vainly for eight years, a group of issues involving fundamental principles in American politics and citizenship, amply sufficient to build a new party upon. In two years he stood as acknowledged head of the new Republican party and President of the United States. His campaign had been brilliant, his grasp of the trend of events was masterly, his attacks upon his opponents were altogether irresistible. There is a striking contrast between the factions during the period of the first four Congresses, and the compact and aggressive organization with which Jefferson won his victories. The subsequent achievements of the Republican party were those of a newly aroused people who are for the first time conscious of their power and have at last attained mastery of the means by which they can use it for their own welfare.

The Exile and Its Effect upon the Hebrew People

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ALMOST a century and a half had elapsed since Israel became the spoil of Assyria; but the fate of the Northern Kingdom and the threat that over Jerusalem should be stretched the line of Samaria and the plummet of the house of Ahab,¹ worked only temporary reform. The reforms of Josiah lasted for a time, but public opinion and private morals ultimately returned to the ways of Manasseh. Backsliding Israel had been more just than was treacherous Judah.² To include all in the nation's guilt is, doubtless, too sweeping, yet Jeremiah throws down the challenge: "Run ye to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, and see now, and know, and seek in the broad places thereof, if ye can find a man, if there be any that doeth justly, that seeketh truth; and I will pardon her."³

The evil could not be stayed forever. The treasures of temple and royal coffers had bought mercy of the Assyrian. Now, naked and despised, Judah awaited the fortunes of war. It is not likely that even a majority went into exile. It was the flower of the nation, noble born and bred, that were carried away with Jehoiachin and, eleven years later, when Zedekiah's rebellion brought final ruin to the state,⁴ it was a motley crowd, "the poorest of the land," that gathered about the vassal prince, Gedaliah, in his new capital at Mizpah.⁵ It was not a hard fate that was imposed, and the oath of allegiance to Babylon insured protection. Sedition, however, wrought ruin. Gedaliah and his retinue were murdered, and consternation and flight broke up the little colony. The prediction that even in Egypt they should not find safety was verified, according to Josephus,⁶ and the sojourn was cut short by further removals to Babylon.

It is well nigh impossible to overestimate the insignificance of Palestine at this time, situated as it was on the very outskirts of the Empire.⁷ There was intercourse between the Exiles and the

1. II Kings 21:13.

2. Je. 3:11.

3. Je. 5:1 cf. vss. 27, 31, 6:7.

4. II Kings 24:14 ff.

5. 25:22 ff. (Je. 40 ff.).

6. Antt., X., ix., 7.

7. II Kings 24:7.

homeland, but even after immigration had set in from Babylon, social and religious life was at a low ebb.⁸ Religious observances tho maintained were heartless and perfunctory.⁹ Even under the benign policy of Cyrus and his early successors the common fate of the exiles was one of hardships. Further, the poverty of Palestine during the exilic period was heightened by the fact that the leaders in initiative and action were among the deported.

A picture of the times appears in the book of Lamentations, as, for example:¹⁰

Our inheritance is turned unto strangers,
 Our houses unto aliens.
 We are orphans and fatherless;
 Our mothers are as widows.
 We have drunken our water for money;
 Our wood is sold unto us.
 Our pursuers are upon our necks:
 We are weary, and have no rest.
 We have given the hand to the Egyptians,
 And to the Assyrians, to be satisfied with bread.
 Our fathers sinned, and are not;
 And we have borne their iniquities.
 Servants rule over us:
 There is none to deliver us out of their hand.
 We get our bread at the peril of our lives,
 Because of the sword of the wilderness.
 Our skin is black like an oven,
 Because of the burning heat of famine.
 They ravished the women in Zion,
 The virgins in the cities of Judah.
 Princes were hanged up by their hand;
 The faces of elders were not honored.
 The young men bare the mill;
 And the children stumbled under the wood.
 The elders have ceased from the gate,
 The young men from their music.
 The joy of our heart is ceased;
 Our dance is turned into mourning.

Not the least of their misfortunes would be the low esteem in which they were held by their fellows in Babylon. Disparaged by

8. Cf. as late as Isa. 65:1 ff., Jos., Ag. Apion, 1:19.

9. Cf. Zech. 7:5 ff.

10. 6:2-16.

the Prophets, they remained faithful to the Law and formed a nucleus about which should gather any who, pilgrims to Jerusalem, might decide to remain in the land of their fathers.

On the other hand the lot of the Jews in Babylon might easily have been worse. They were permitted to dwell together in communities and to maintain an ecclesiastical if not a political form of organization.¹¹ Denied political activity the exiles devoted themselves to commerce and to the study of the Law and to the editing of their sacred literature. Many Jews acquired wealth and from Babylon large gifts went to Jerusalem for the support of the temple-service. It is clear that after the proclamation of Cyrus many elected to stay in their new home rather than to try fortunes in the desolated fatherland.

The changes wrought by the Exile were many and notable. Not the least was that due to changed environment. The rugged mountains, the precipitous gorges, and the varied scenery were exchanged for broad, alluvial plains that produced in varied abundance. The climate was more equable than that of Palestine. National genius is something but not so obstinate as not to yield to physical and climatic conditions. Babylon, too, was an intellectual center. In point of material wealth and importance Babylonian civilization was superior to that of the Jews. Mathematics, astronomy, astrology, and magic had reached high stages of development. Metrology, art, and architecture were far advanced. Music and poetry were successfully cultivated. Engraving and decorating had attained a high degree of perfection. In the midst of such surroundings the Exiles felt a tremendous stimulus to the intellectual life, to which fact Scribism is unequivocal witness.

To this period dates the beginning of the Dispersion. Commerce led many afar but it was grim necessity that began the process of alienation from the home-land. First Babylon, then Egypt, later the cities of the Empire became centers of the race. The Prophet speaking for Yahwe could say: "Fear not; for I am with thee: I will bring thy seed from the east, and gather thee from the west; I will say to the north, Give up and to the south, Keep not back; bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the end of the earth."¹²

A great advance was the purifying of religion. Jeremiah had

11. Cf. book of Ezekiel. Cf. II Kings 25:27 ff.; the prominence of Daniel and his companions; Esther; Tobit and Achiarchus. The prayers offered up for the Babylonian Kings were probably prompted by the same spirit that prompted the prayers of the Christians for the Roman emperors. Cf. Bar. 1:11 ff with Tertullian's Apology, 30, 32.

12. Isa. 43:5.

said truly that the people would find no safety in the gods they had made:

"Who hath fashioned a god, or molten a graven image that is profitable for nothing? Behold all his fellows shall be ashamed."¹³

"The ysay to a stock, Thou art my father; and to a stone, Thou hast brought me forth."¹⁴

Then Jacob remembered and learned that beside Yahwe there is no God. Even Bel and Nebo became a burden. Repentance brought with it the old love and loyalty; men felt their weakness:

"Behold, the nations are as a drop of a bucket, and are accounted as the small dust of the balance: behold, he taketh up the isles as a very little thing."¹⁵

The prophets of this period love to dwell on the power and majesty of Yahwe. The terse sayings of such men as Amos and Hosea are expanded until they become formal, theological statements; words are multiplied, phrases are heaped up in the anxiety to demonstrate.¹⁶ In one thing apostasy was not again to be chargeable to this people. Monotheism, the supremacy of Yahwe, was indelibly stamped on their hearts and lives. And, further, the local idea in religion was gone. The ideas expressed a century and a half before as to the inviolability of Jerusalem¹⁷ gave place to other sentiments.¹⁸ Jeremiah could boldly declare that the new covenant with Israel would be a law written in the heart.¹⁹ It was in this way that Jews resident in other lands could erect new temples, found new religious centers, as the finds at Elephantine attest. The paladium was gone, the abiding assurance removed. The people, awakened as from a stupor, sought comfort in prayer. The temple had been for many years a veil between the worshiper and his God. Prayer now took on a new meaning and petitions were offered with increased fervor.

Another indication of changed religious attitude is the tendency toward Universalism. The strictly nationalistic idea is gradually displaced by one of relationship with the nations. This clearly appears in the doctrine of the Messianic Kingdom, which at first for Jews only, gradually became expanded until other peoples had a part—tho a subordinate place—in the golden age. This attitude had been forced on the Jews by their mingling with other peoples. In the

13. Isa. 44:10 f.

14. Je. 2:20-28.

15. Isa. 40:15. Cf. 41:13, 42:24, 44:24 f.

16. Cf. Isa. 43:10 ff., 45:18 f., 46:8 ff.

17. Cf. Isa. 31:5. Je. 16:20.

18. Je. 22:1 ff.

19. Je. 31:31-34. Cf. Je. 7:4.

books of Ruth and Jonah this acceptability of Gentile peoples clearly appears. Isaiah's thought of Assyria²⁰ as a means for chastising Israel was developed into Jeremiah's noble conception of the nations flocking from the ends of the earth to worship Yahwe.²¹

The Jews were changed in their thinking. New doctrines were incorporated: old ones were reinforced. Legends of creation and deluge became part of the written tradition. The imagery of Ezekiel, the first Zechariah, Joel, and, later, of the Apocalyptic books was borrowed from the environment of the Exile. Again, the statement of certain doctrines was changed. Earlier writers had taught that forgiveness must be preceded by repentance: Yahwe must be just as well as merciful. Later writers magnified divine power to such a degree that salvation came to be regarded as an arbitrary matter.

Thus Yahwe: "If heaven above can be measured, and the foundations of the earth searched out beneath, then will I also cast off all the seed of Israel for all that they have done, saith Yahwe."²²

New is Jeremiah's declaration of individual responsibility: "Every one shall die for his own iniquity,"²³ and Ezekiel reaffirms the sentiment: "The soul that sinneth, it shall die."²⁴

The opening chapter of the Restoration suggests how Jewish character was remoulded by the terrible experiences of the Exile. The untamed child of nature in whose heart burned conflicting emotions as sensuality and reverence, resignation and irrepressible ferocity,²⁵ Israel's face showed lines and seams of bitter experience, but the heart was purer, the life stronger, and the eye has caught a gleam of the coming deliverance. This gain was not without the loss of a certain degree of naturalness and freshness. This is witnessed by change in the tone of prophecy:²⁶ later writers evinced a fondness for diffuse and redundant statement, for the heaping up of adjectives—at times in marked contrast with earlier writers.

The Exilic period was one of great literary activity. The Law was carefully collated and codified; the literature of the nation was collected and edited. With the scholarly treatment of the Law came a more careful study. From now on the priest devoted himself more and more to the services of the temple. The function of interpreting and applying the law was assumed by the Scribes. The flowing

20. Isa. 10:5.

21. Je. 16:19.

22. Je. 31:37. Cf. 33:17, 20 f.

23. Je. 31:29 f.

24. Je. 18:1-4.

25. George Adam Smith.

26. Je. 32:16 ff., 10:6 ff., 31:35. Cf. Ex. 20:5 (E), 34:7 (J) but see 31:29 f.

style of Deutero-Isaiah, for example, contrasts with the terse vigorous style of the first Isaiah, the grave, restrained diction of the latter making more vivid the fervid, at times lyric, strain of his name-sake.²⁷

With the captivity ended the national life of the people; the state under Simon was a gleam in the darkness. Judaism had become a church. The Hagiocracy finds its fullest expression in the visions of Ezekiel, where the restored state centers about and radiates from the sanctuary. The secular ruler is a tributary prince; the glory of the monarchy survives in the priesthood the members of which as spiritual princes are shepherds of the people. Legislation and literature are now ecclesiastical; religion and politics are inseparable. They are vassals of the Great King, but children of Yahwe. The Hagiocracy has superceded the Nation.

27. Driver, *Intro.*, pp 240 ff.

The New Individualism*

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THE story of the development of the English and of the American law is the story of a struggle between the innate love of the Northman for the right to property and to opportunity, and to do with such property and opportunity as he pleases, and the broader idea which comes from being a member of an organized society composed of individuals with mutual duties, rights and obligations, and having a common loyalty to a common country and a common humanity. It is, in short, the history of a struggle between the idea of personal liberty and the idea which is comprehended in the legal maxim that the public welfare is the highest law. This maxim and its companion, that it is the duty of every citizen to so use his own as not to injure that which belongs to another, are as firmly implanted in the English and in the American law as are the constitutional safeguards which surround the right to property and to personal liberty. It took time, however, for their development and recognition. They were opposed to the individualism of the Feudal Ages. Their recognition was at first largely brought about by the influence of the Roman Law and of the Christian Church, which that feudalism had for a time submerged. It was later checked, strange to say, by the industrial revolution and by the *laissez faire* school of political economy. There can be little question that when at the time of the *Magna Charta* the feudal aristocracy of England demanded that they should not be dispossessed, and that the king should not come upon them except by the law of the land, they were merely anxious to secure to themselves a perfect license of conduct, and that there was nothing in their demand which was democratic or altruistic. At that time, indeed, at least seventy-five per cent of the population of England was in the thralls of serfdom, and the privileges demanded by the barons at Runnymede were demanded by and for the freemen of England, alone. It now, however, may be said that altho the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution and their counterparts which are to be found in the constitutions of the several states, are grounded and founded upon the provisions of the *Magna Charta*,

*UNIVERSITY ADDRESS Given at the University of North Dakota, June 10, 1912.

the words *liberty* and *property* used therein and in the clauses which provide that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty and property without due process of law, are coming to be construed in a more altruistic and Christian manner, and in the light of the maxims I have just mentioned. It can now be safely said that the courts and the public generally—for after all the courts merely reflect the sober sense and second thought of that public—have come to see and to hold that a right to property and liberty should never be guaranteed in matters and things which are injurious to the public health, the public welfare or the public morality, or even to the convenience of the public as a whole. The American Constitution, indeed, and the constitutions of the several states did not grant any new liberty or new rights. They only guaranteed a continuance of the liberties and rights then existing and even at the time of the adoption of these constitutions and at the time of the more or less barbarous and unaltruistic period of the Revolution, there was admitted to be no right to liberty in those things which were deemed to be so injurious.

It is only, therefore, in determining upon what is and what is not injurious to the public, as to what are and what are not matters of public concern, and perhaps as to who are and who are not, in particular cases, members of the general public, that we experience any difficulty when we seek to pass upon the validity of statutory enactments which encroach upon the freedom of the individual or the free exercise of property rights, or as a people generally to determine the sphere of governmental control. For tho, as we have said, there is a great and constant struggle going on between the principles of individualism and of collectivism, and altho every new restraint upon personal activity will always be more or less vigorously resisted, the doctrine that the welfare of the public is the highest law is generally recognized and the growth of the law in social righteousness must come, and can come alone from a broader conception of wherein that public welfare really consists. Even the individualism of the Bentham type insists upon individualism as a principle which shall be emphasized *under* government and *in* society, and not out of society. It is advocated as a governmental idea from the standpoint of patriotism as well as from that of the individual. He who believes in it is no less a believer in organized society than is the collectivist. He advocates individualism because he believes that it will promote industry, economy and self respect, and in promoting these virtues will add to the strength of the state itself.

The American law of to-day and the social system which it represents, in fact the social systems of all civilized countries, may then

be said to be compromises between the two opposites of individualism and of collectivism. There are several kinds of individualism, however. There is the individualism of the non-resistant anarchist; there is the individualism of the militant Saxon or Norseman; there is the individualism of predatory wealth; and there is the individualism of Jeremy Bentham.

When we speak of anarchism and of the anarchist, we are speaking of the scientific, non-resisting anarchist,—of the anarchism of Tolstoi and of Proudhon, not of the anarchism of the terrorist,—of the anarchism of Bakunin. He who believes in it believes that where righteousness and kindness and a true sense of civic duty prevail, no law is necessary. He believes perhaps, in an idealistic, in an impractical and in a foolish theory, but in one which is comparatively harmless. For his is a non-resistant philosophy, one which is based on the premise of brotherly love and of the golden rule.

"What is the use of law," says Tolstoi? "Are there criminal statutes, are there prisons in the family? Is not society, is not the nation, but a larger family? Is it not love which is after all supreme?" "I have noticed the herds of wild deer in Siberia," says Prince Kropotkin, "I have seen them as they were crossing a stream and were exposed to the attacks of the wolves. The stags formed themselves into an advance guard, a rear guard, and circled around the flanks. In the center were the weak, the females and the young. To reach them it was necessary that the wolves should break thru the outer circle. There was no law. There were no gendarmes, no Cossacks, no jails. There was the instinct of love, of service and of protection. Are men and women less chivalrous, less loving than the beasts of the field?"

This is the individualism of the non-resisting anarchist. It is one extreme. It involves an utter negation of the necessity for any superimposed law. It is the antipodes to socialism which involves a blind belief in law. It is hardly, however, the individualism of the Anglo-Saxon, of the Northman, or of modern predatory commercialism. Their individualism is of the self-assertive, acquisitive kind. The believers in it were and still to a large extent are, warriors, exploiters, perhaps pirates. The Anglo-Saxon and Norse warriors who laid the foundation of the English state and whose descendants have ever since made its laws and formulated its political thought, were individualistic because they themselves were strong. They believed in the private and unrestrained right to property because they had won it by the sword. They believed in personal liberty because they felt able to assert it. They did not admit the need of the govern-

mental protection of the weak. Even their kings were at first merely war lords. They had at first no conception of the brotherhood of man, or of the solidarity that there is in all mankind. Even at the time of the Magna Charta the rights and privileges demanded were for the freemen of England alone, and seventy-five per cent of the people were in practical serfdom. Up to the year 1824 one hundred and sixty offenses were punishable with death, and of these a very large proportion were offenses against property. At the time when under this brutal code a child could be hanged for stealing a sheep, it was considered perfectly legitimate to work children of six years of age for sixteen hours a day in the factories and in the mines and to harness almost naked women to the coal trucks. The advocates of this individualism, however, were not anarchists. They believed in law. The only trouble with them was that they had merely a class conscience. To them the legitimate and only function of the law was their own individual protection and advancement.

The individualism of Jeremy Bentham, on the other hand, was altruistic and ethical. It was founded on the theory of the greatest good for the greatest number. It insisted on the premises that the prime end of existence is happiness and that every person is in the main and as a general rule the best judge of his own happiness. Legislation, therefore, its author maintained, should aim at the removal of all those restrictions on the free action of the individual which are not necessary for securing like freedom on the part of his neighbors. It differed from scientific, non-resistant anarchy in conceding that some restraint and some law was necessary to keep men from encroaching on the rights of others. It differed from the collectivism which followed it in England and from what we believe to be the dominant and wiser thought of to-day, merely in failing to admit that in numerous cases the individual needs legislative help to enable him to compete on terms of even seeming equality with others, and that by the rendering of this aid the welfare not only of the majority but that of the state itself is subserved. It laid the foundation for an intelligent collectivism. In emphasizing the dignity of the individual, and in seeking to remove the numerous legal obstacles which had been cast around the struggling worker by the class interests and selfishness of generations, it paved the way for further steps in advance. Its fault was merely that it did not go far enough. "This neglect," writes Dr. Arnold in 1838, "namely to provide a proper position in the state for the manufacturing population, is encouraged by one of the falsest maxims which ever pandered to human selfishness under the name of political wisdom—I mean the maxim that civil

society ought to leave its members alone, each to look after their several interests, provided they do not employ direct fraud or force against their neighbors. That is, knowing full well that these are not equal in their natural powers, and that still less have they ever within historical memory started with equal artificial advantages; knowing also that power of every sort has a tendency to increase itself, we stand by and let this most unequal race take its course forgetting that the very name of society implies that it shall not be a mere race, but that its object is to provide for the common good of all, by restraining the power of the strong and protecting the helplessness of the weak."

This later theory, this collectivism of Dr. Arnold, if we choose to so call it, and which followed Benthamism in England, is the doctrine of by far the greatest number of the American courts of to-day. It is, in fact, the doctrine to be found in all of the modern decisions where the questions at issue have been fairly and dispassionately and intelligently considered and discuss. It is really in the highest sense individualistic. It is an insistence upon the freedom of contract and of competition. It interferes with modern industrial conditions only where the public health or morals or welfare are affected or where the parties sought to be aided are so inferior in equipment or opportunity in the conflict that a fair fight demands some measure of governmental aid or protection. The American courts, for example, altho ready to aid the laboring man as a poor man by sustaining wage exemption and mechanic's liens laws, and altho ever ready to sustain laws which impose upon the employer the duty of safeguarding the health and physical safety of his employees, have hesitated in sustaining laws which have sought to regulate the contract of employment especially in relation to the payment of wages. They have not, as a rule, however, refused to sustain such laws where a necessity for them was really shown to exist, that is to say, a necessity based on the ultimate duty of the state to shield its citizens from mental, moral and physical debasement, or to prevent domestic turmoil and insurrection. They have, as a rule, hesitated and refused their sanction merely because they have clung to the belief in the actual existence of an equality of contractual ability and opportunity in the industrial world, and have, therefore, not seen the necessity for legislative interference. Thus far it would seem the majority of the American courts have evinced a willingness to go and thus far alone should they go.

In this they have no doubt evinced a willingness to go a step beyond the individualism of Bentham. But in doing so they have

perhaps merely asserted another and higher individualism—the individualism of the state itself. Bentham's idea was that the individual should have complete freedom of action in all things where restraint was not necessary for securing a like freedom on the part of his neighbor. The modern enlightened collectivist idea is that the strength of a nation or of a state depends upon the strength and manliness and intelligence of its individual citizens, and that the preservation of these virtues is essentially a matter of governmental concern. "No one," the courts assert, "has the right to blight his health or his morals or to throw his life away, no matter how willing he may be to do so. Much less may one by taking advantage of the ignorance or the necessity of his fellow compel such a sacrifice." "The legislature," says the Supreme Court of the United States, in passing upon a statute of Utah which limited the hours of employment in underground mines, "has also recognized the fact, which the experience of legislators in many states has corroborated, that the proprietors of these establishments and their operators do not stand upon an equality, and that their interests are to a certain extent conflicting. The former naturally desire to obtain as much labor as possible from their employees, while the later are often induced by the fear of discharge to conform to regulations which their judgment, fairly exercised, would pronounce to be detrimental to their health or strength. In other words, the proprietors lay down the rules and the laborers are practically constrained to obey them. In such cases self-interest is often an unsafe guide and the legislature may properly interpose its authority. . . . The fact that both parties are of full age and competent to contract does not necessarily deprive the state of the power to interfere where the parties do not stand upon an equality, or where the public health demands that one party to the contract shall be protected against himself. The state still retains an interest in his welfare, however reckless he may be. The whole is no greater than the sum of all the parts, and when the individual health, safety and welfare are sacrificed or neglected, the state must suffer." While the Supreme Court of New York in passing upon a penal statute of that state said: "It (the statute) interferes to prevent the public exhibition of children under a certain age in spectacles or performances which, by reason of the place and hour, or the nature of the acts demanded of the child performer, and the circumstances of the exhibition, are deemed by the legislature prejudicial to the physical, mental or moral welfare of the child, and hence, to the interests of the state itself. . . . The scanty dress of the ballet dancer, the pirouetting, and the various other described movements with the limbs, and

the vocal efforts, cannot be said to be without possible prejudices to the physical condition of the child; while in the glare of the footlights, the tinsel surroundings, and the incense of popular applause, it is not impossible that the immature mind should contract such unreal view of existence as to unfit it for the stern realities and exactions of later life. The statute is not to be construed as applying only when the exhibition offends against morals or decency, or endangers life or limb by what is required of the child actor. Its application is to all public exhibitions or shows. That any and all such shall be deemed prejudicial to the interests of the child and contrary to the policy of the state to permit, was for the legislature to consider and say. The right of personal liberty is not infringed upon because the law imposes limitations or restraints upon the exercise of faculties with which the child may be more or less exceptionally endowed. The inalienable right of the child or adult to pursue a trade is indisputable; but it must be not only one that is lawful, but which the state or sovereign as *parens patriae* recognizes as proper and safe. It is not the strict moralist view, dictated by prejudice, but the view from the standpoint of a member of the body politic."

Again in the case of Peel Splint Coal Co. vs. State, the Supreme Court of West Virginia in sustaining a provision of the statute of that state, which it had heretofore held to be invalid and which perhaps would still be held to be invalid by the majority of the American courts, and which made it unlawful "for any corporation, company, firm or person, engaged in any trade or business, either directly or indirectly, to issue, sell, give or deliver to any person employed by such corporation, company, firm or person, in payment of wages due such laborer, or as advances for labor not due, any script, token, draft, check or other evidence of indebtedness, payable or redeemable otherwise than in lawful money" said, "We do not base this decision so much upon the ground that the business is affected by the public use, but upon still higher ground, that the public tranquility, the good and safety of society, demand, where the number of employees is such that specific contracts with such laborers would be improbable, if not impossible, that in general contracts justice shall prevail as between operator and miner; and, in company's dealings with a multitude of miners with which the state has by special legislation enabled the owners and operators to surround themselves, that all opportunities for fraud shall be removed. The state is frequently called upon to suppress strikes; to discountenance labor conspiracies; to denounce boycotting, as injurious to trade and commerce; and it cannot be possible that the same police power may not be invoked

to protect the laborer from being made the victim of compulsory power of that artificial combination of capital which special state legislation has originated and rendered possible. It is a fact worthy of consideration and one of such historical notoriety, that the court may recognize it judicially, that every disturbance of the peace of any magnitude in this state since the civil war has been evolved from the disturbed relations between powerful corporations and their servants and employees. It cannot be possible that the state has no police power adequate to the protection of society against the recurrence of these disturbances, which threaten to shake civil order to its very foundations. Collisions between the capitalist and the working man endanger the safety of the state, stay the wheels of commerce, discourage manufacturing enterprises, destroy public confidence, and at times throw an idle population upon the bosom of the community."

These cases indicate the extent to which legislative interference with the freedom of conduct and the right to property can and should go. To go beyond them, that is to interfere where the public health, safety, morals, convenience or peace are not involved, or where the persons sought to be protected are under contractual disabilities would, in the opinion of the writer, and undoubtedly according to such decisions, be to go too far, would have a tendency to prevent rather than to aid the growth of a self-respecting individualism, which is the best foundation for a healthy and progressive national life. When we speak of the *public health, however*, we speak in the language of the supreme court of Utah, and of the United States when they included in the term public, the employee and the person under contract. We do not believe in the reasoning of the Supreme Court of Colorado, which seems to hold that the legislature has no right to interfere as between employer and employee and with the contract of employment; that the legislature can only concern itself with the welfare of the public as a whole, and that the employee is not a member of the common public.

In thus interfering with individual liberty and the use of property, our courts can hardly be said to be socialistic. Rather they may be said to be making a last stand against socialism. They appear rather to have been actuated by the belief that legislative interference is necessary in order that individualism may survive, in order that the health and the morals of citizens may be safeguarded and in order that a capitalistic, monopolistic socialism may be warded off. They seem to think that interference is necessary in order that the public shall not be driven to the extreme of demanding state socialism. The courts are willing that the legislatures shall protect the children

and the weak, and those under contractual disabilities, because on the strength and health of the individual the strength of the state depends. They are willing to sanction the control of monopoly and the regulation of railroad rates, and charges and the giving of rebates, because unless this is done they fear that there will be no competition and no individualism. They are not engaged in encouraging the state socialism and governmental ownership which must be the inevitable result, if the people generally come to believe that freedom of competition and a fair equality of opportunity are the things of the past, and are gone forever. In this we are not speaking of all the state statutes. Many of them are unwise and many of them are foolish. We are speaking, rather, of the more recent decisions of the American Courts, and of those statutes which the American courts have generally sustained.

I have thus far attempted to give an idea of the attitude of the courts of to-day and of the modern trend of judicial thought upon the great question of the proper sphere of governmental activity, and as to how far the state should attempt to enter into the industrial struggle,—as to how far it should seek to protect the individual and to regulate individual interests. I now wish to call attention to the fact that it is from the individual himself that social salvation must come and to the great field of endeavor that is before the University and the schools.

We are, I believe, inclined to overestimate the efficiency of legislation. We seem to think that the legislators and the courts can do all things; when as a matter of fact they can do but very little. The lawsuit, is after all merely the last resort which the individual and society has. It takes the place of the armed force and of the personal conflict. The criminal statute is in a measure a preventative, it is seldom a cure. For every offense that is prevented by the fear of a criminal punishment, there are a thousand which are prevented by the social consciences of the people themselves. For every contract that is enforced by the courts, there are a hundred thousand that are lived up to, because of the sense of honor that exists among business men. The real fact of it is, that necessary as the Child Labor laws and laws directed against the ordinary criminal offenses may be, a public sentiment against such things is of infinitely more importance. As a matter of fact, criminal laws and statutory regulations of industry, even if enacted, are never generally enforced until the sentiment of the majority is with them and if that sentiment were universal, they would be absolutely unnecessary. The only things that stand in the way of a social righteousness and of a

reign of justice and equal opportunity, are individual selfishness (the wrong kind of selfishness) a class conscience, and a false conception of wherein true individualism exists. If we had a broad civic conscience and the real kind of patriotism, laws would be unnecessary, except as declarations of faith, and the sheriff would be unknown. What the individualist has clamored for during the ages, has been the right to run his business as he pleased, and without dictation. He has clamored for what he has termed "personal liberty," and where the government dictates and there is a false conception of that personal liberty, and wherein the individual rights really consist, there has been and always will be trouble and differences. The important thing is to make men individually social and to individually desire what is right. I would like to see the legislature of this state pass a statute which would do away entirely with the buying of speculative lawsuits and the purchasing of defective titles as matters of speculation. I would like to see a law passed making it impossible for a man to hunt thru the public records to find some flaw in the title of one who has been in the honest possession of property for years in the firm belief in his title, buy a quit-claim deed of the original owner for a few dollars, the original owner himself being ignorant of his rights, and then sue to dispossess the man in the honest possession. I would infinitely rather, however, see the moral sentiment of the community and of the individual so high that no man would buy such a title and no man would press such a lawsuit. I would like to see sharp practices and unconsiderable business bargains as much frowned upon and despised by society and the individual, as the more vulgar but more manly offense of highway robbery. But these things the law can seldom reach. You can not by legislation make men either Christians or gentlemen; you can not by legislation compel one to be a good Samaritan or to rescue a drowning man; you can not, except in a general way, compel one to be his brother's keeper. Christianity, indeed, has been defined to be the plus element in society which induces men to perform voluntarily that which the law can not compel. And in my mind to be a Christian and to be a gentleman are synonymous. In order to have individual and national strength and virility we must have individualism, and individualism is of course based upon selfishness, but we need a higher selfishness. We need to have the individual conscience so trained that one will himself be hurt by injuring another. We need an individual self respect that from motives of selfishness, if you please, will refrain from that which is dishonorable because that which is dishonorable will give the doer pain and annoyance. What we

really need, in this later day of democracy, are not more laws, or more political machinery, but a social conscience. Its lack alone makes the inspector, the policeman, and the statute necessary. We need to reform the lawyer more than we need to reform the law. We need to resolve reforms and politics into terms of human life, and we need to learn to care for and be willing to live, as well as to die, for those human lives; we need a patriotism which sees something higher even than the flag, and which is not merely a geographical sense. There is something better than the geographical love of the rocks and of the rills. There is something holier than the love of the flag, and that something is a love of and a willingness to die and to live for those who live amidst the rocks and beneath the flag.

You remember the story of the rise of the family of the Rothschilds. The battle of Waterloo was in progress. London and England were in a frenzy of horror of anxiety and of grief. The Baron knew and sought to profit by this. He knew that defeat would mean ruin to many and the annihilation of the British army would bring sorrow to thousands of homes. He furnished himself with a relay of horses; he watched the battle; when he learned its results he started for London. There were no telegraph lines or railroads in those days. He traveled night and day, but said never a word. On arriving in London he spent days in buying stocks and bonds, and other securities which he knew must rise in value when the news of the victory was received, but he kept silent. The news came and the bonds and securities increased in value, until he became fabulously rich, but at the expense of human suffering and agony. He might have shouted the news from the house tops; he might have brought joy to millions, but he chose to make millions. He had simply a selfishness which was unenlightened and untrained. No man of honor and of humanity would have done what he did, for it would have pained him. Rothschild had no honor and no humanity, and it did not pain him. He did that which was legal but that which was unsocial. Of all the crimes of modern years the greatest has been the crime of those who suppress the details of the Titanic disaster, in order that they might sell the story to the newspapers for a few hundred dollars. The man who refuses to save a drowning comrade, the pharisee who passes on the other side of the highway, are the real criminals, but these the law can never reach. We cannot compel individual action in these matters, yet it is in the conscience that would make these things impossible that the salvation of democracy is to be found. We need a social conscience and the right kind of individualism, and not more legislation.

The knight errant of old was only half social. His pride and his sense of self respect were with him all controlling. He was loyal and brave but he had only a class conscience. The knight errant of the past battled for the captive princess. The knight errant of the future must put lance in rest and battle for the daughter of the tenement and of the slums, and that daughter when herself liberated and ennobled must not lose interest in the class from which she has come and the great social movement around her. It is this new knight errantry that the people's university must teach. These schools must be democratic and teach the democratic duty and the democratic trust. They must teach the individualism and the social gospel of Christianity. Of all of the democrats of all of the ages the great teacher of men was the most individualistic and yet the most social. His individualism was solitary and magnificent but it enfolded the world. He prayed alone but he stood for all men. He fasted alone in the wilderness, but he scorned kingdoms and chose the path of humble service and the road to Calvary. His self respect was supreme. He lived his own life. He asserted his kingship and his own individuality. He never surrendered to the mob, but his great heart encompassed the world. His selfishness was sublime but in it was enwrapt the happiness of the world. The happiness of the world was his happiness and its sorrows his sorrows. His was the great individualism.

Antiochus Epiphanes Epimanes

(King of Syria, 175-164, B. C.)

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OF the successors of Alexander the Great, none more effectually achieved his purpose to Hellenize the East than did the rulers of Syria. Embracing in their domain the larger part of the old Persian empire, by promoting commerce and fostering Greek culture, the Seleucids stimulated greatly the growth of that vigorous Hellenism which during the three centuries preceding Christ stirred the Orient into new life and recreated the "spirit of the times." The culmination of this movement came in the reign of the eighth Seleucid, Antiochus IV. Holm calls this monarch "a characteristic figure of the age." Greek by ancestry, Oriental by nativity, Roman in training, he posset the culture and activity of the first, the ostentation and inefficiency of the second, and the sagacity and determination of the third. Naturally, a character so complete was an enigma to his contemporaries; on the one hand were vigor and capacity amounting almost to genius, on the other triviality and eccentricity verging toward insanity. The appellations of Antiochus illustrate these contradictions: his surname was THEOS EPIPHANES, the DEITY REVEALED; the punsters of the day in derision dubbed him EPIMANES, the MADMAN. And yet, despite this strange mixture of faculty and inaninity, or perhaps because of it, Epiphanes Epimanes was one of the most important personages of his century. Not only at a critical juncture was he a factor to be reckoned with in Roman affairs, but in Jewish history he was of epochal significance. Of the many foreign kings who ruled the Jews as a nation, he has the dark distinction of being the only one who persecuted them with the deliberate intention of extirpating their religion. His policy produced the greatest crisis from the Exilic return to the Messianic advent, and the persecution waged by him just because of its extreme character saved Judaism from falling a prey to the dominant Hellenism, and generated forces which shaped it to the time of Christ.

Antiochus was the son of that Antiochus who, because of a successful expedition against revolting eastern satrapies, was termed by

indulgent subjects, the Great. Antiochus Magnus was really a king of much energy and of considerable ability. Under him, Phoenicia, Coele-Syria, and Palestine were added to the Syrian dominions at the expense of Egypt. But his ambition out-stript his achievements. He laid claim to nearly all Asia Minor and part of Europe, pretensions which finally brought him into collision with the Romans. After sundry small engagements, the "great" king was utterly overthrown at Magnesia (190 B. C.). The treaty which was made soon after this defeat stipulated that the humbled potentate should give up all Asia Minor (except Cilicia), pay an enormous indemnity, and send hostages to Rome. One of these hostages was his third son, the subject of this sketch.

The residence of the young man at Rome, which lasted fourteen years, doubtless was of considerable influence in forming his character. He was treated with kindness and respect, his associates being the young nobles. The Rome of this period, indeed, offered an excellent education for a prince whom the intrigues of Syrian politics might bring to the throne. The state was in full vigor. Luxury had not yet rusted the iron virtues forged in the Hannibalic wars. It was the age of Cato the Censor, Aemilius Paulus, and the Scipios. Rome was entering upon that policy of expansion which was to give her possession of the Mediterranean world, and great problems were engaging her statesmen. Already the life of the nations converged upon the Forum. Altho the young Seleucid perhaps lacked the stamina to profit to the utmost by this vigorous environment, yet he derived from it to some extent ability to manage affairs and experience which were of value in his later career. It did not seem probable, however, that he would have occasion to exercise his attainments as king, for he was not in the direct line of succession; but the course of affairs at Antioch finally gave him an opportunity of which he was not slow to avail himself.

In the year after Antiochus came to Rome (188 B. C.), his father was killed in an attempt to plunder a temple in Elymais. The eldest son, named Antiochus also, had died six years before; consequently the decadent throne and substantial debts fell to the second, Seleucus Philopator.¹ Seleucus did not lack enterprise, but he was handicapped by the effects of the disaster at Magnesia. To keep his disjointed realm in some sort of order and to pay the Roman tribute employed all his energies. He is the king referred to in the eleventh chapter of Daniel, who caused "an exactor to pass through the glory

1. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. 3, p. 317.

of the kingdom". This "exactor" was the Syrian chancellor, Heliodorus. Learning of the immense treasures in the Temple at Jerusalem and following the practise of his house, Seleucus sent Heliodorus to seize them; but the attempt failed.² Later, 176 B. C., this same Heliodorus conspired against his master, slew him, and usurped the throne. The legitimate successor was the son of Seleucus, Demetrius, but he had been sent to Rome to take the place of his uncle as hostage. According to the terms of the treaty, an exchange of hostages was to have occurred every three years, but in the case of Antiochus this proviso had been disregarded. The latter had left Rome and had proceeded on his homeward journey as far as Athens, when he heard of what had taken place in Syria, and at once formed the design of obtaining the throne for himself. The details of the events which followed have not come down to us. It seems, however, that Antiochus's project was regarded with disfavor by the Romans because they thought that Heliodorus would be less dangerous to their interests than this stirring representative of the ancient house. But aid came from another quarter. The kingdom of Pergamum was at that time by far the most stable and prosperous among the states of Asia Minor. Its king, Eumenes, one of the most conspicuous figures of the day, had been a faithful ally of Rome, but of late was become somewhat disaffected. Accordingly, thinking that Antiochus might prove a valuable neighbor, he furnished him assistance. This aid and his own powers of intrigue enabled the latter to overthrow Heliodorus and to assume the crown (175 B. C.)³

The new reign opened auspiciously. The people were well disposed, and the king displayed vigor and capacity in restoring order to his realm. Appian tells us that he ruled with firm hand. Special attention was given to the treasury, the army, and to the troublesome Euphrates provinces. Close alliance was made with Eumenes. In order to placate the Senate and to obtain the renewal of the treaty of friendship, the adroit and able Apollonius, who had been governor of Palestine under Seleucus, was dispatched to Rome with the tribute and, as an additional emollient, with a present consisting of costly golden vases. The embassy was received at Rome with great consideration and was granted its request. Thus the new regime received formal recognition. At home in order to stimulate martial ardor, gladiatorial games after the Roman fashion were introduced.

2. II. Maccabees, chap. 3.

3. Appian, *De Rebus Syriacis*, 45, is the main authority for these events.

These caused at first more terror than pleasure, and so for a while the combatants were permitted to inflict wounds only; but at length frequent repetition rendered even mortal contests not only familiar but popular.⁴ That this policy was perhaps not without effect, was shown in a rapid campaign against Armenia, which since the battle of Magnesia had been independent. Its king, Artaxias, was defeated and captured, and the country was reannexed. As a general, according to Polybius, Antiochus showed himself "a man of ability in the field and daring in design." Moreover, thruout his career his generous and pious Hellenistic sympathies won him high regard in the Greek world. "In two great and honorable instances", observes Livy, "he showed a spirit truly royal,—in the presents which he made to several cities and the honors he paid to the gods." Then these good deeds are specified: "To the inhabitants of Magalopolis in Arcadia he made a promise to build a wall around their city, and he gave them the greater part of the money requisite for that purpose. At tegea he began to erect a magnificent theater of marble. At Cyzicum, he presented a set of golden utensils for the service of one table in the Prytaneum, the state-room of the city, where such as are entitled to that honor dine together. To the Rhodians he gave presents of every kind that their convenience required but none very remarkable. Of the magnificence of his notions respecting the gods, the temple of Jupitur Olympus at Athens was of itself a sufficient testimony: being the only one in the world, the plan of which was suitable to the greatness of the deity. He likewise ornamented Delos with altars of extraordinary beauty and abundance of statues. A splendid temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which he proposed to build at Antioch, of which not only the ceiling, but all the walls were to be covered with plates of gold, and many other edifices which he intended he did not finish because of the shortness of his reign."⁵ A new quarter was added to Antioch called in honor of the King. Epiphaneia, and many splendid buildings were erected. As a propagator of Hellenism the Epiphanes sought to justify his title.

But, like the worse half of Dr. Jekyll, the EPIMANES was bound at times to assert itself. A certain whimsical bonhomme, coupled with an utter disregard of the dignity of his position, scandalized Oriental etiquette and perplexed respectable people. Some said that he was undoubtedly insane, while others thought that he was merely of rather silly, joking temperament. Indeed some of his

4. Livy, IV. 20.

5. Livy, XLII. 20.

actions were sufficiently odd. In giving presents, for instance, he sometimes would offer distinguished citizens ridiculous gifts such as toys or sweet-meats, and on the other hand he would present to utter strangers the most costly largesses. He delighted to give his courtiers the slip and to roam unattended thru the city, stopping occasionally to chat with artisans, again hobnobbing with the rabble in the public houses, and anon producing consternation by appearing suddenly in the midst of some merry-making. Once he took a notion to be tribune after the Roman custom and went round soliciting votes, and when he had obtained the office, presided over the trivial cases of the agora with the utmost seriousness. He was wont also to bathe in the public baths, and on one occasion, on being anointed with rare unguents overheard one of the bathers remark, "Lucky fellows, you kings to use such things and smell so sweet"; without saying a word, on the next day he caused a great pot of costly ointment to be poured over the man's head, and then all the bathers rolled in it, the King among them.⁶ Queer pranks these certainly. And yet in practical matters Epimanes was sane enough. For a Seleucid he governed well and he retained the esteem of his subjects to such an extent that after his death his son was called Eupator, the well-fathered. In truth he seems to have been of that peculiar temperament which finds poise in large matters, but loses it in small ones. Even his course toward the Jews, disastrous tho it was ultimately, was nevertheless not without justification from the standpoint of Syrian interests.

In his Jewish policy, Antiochus constantly endeavored to forward the process of Hellenization, which had been at work among the Jews from the time of Alexander. For during the Greek era as never before they were being drawn into the wider movements of the world around them. This new Aryan life, with its keen intellectualism, its polished philosophy, its esthetic culture, and as well with its tremendous vitality and abounding commercialism, throbbed thru all the environment of Israel and in a thousand enticing forms summoned her from isolation. How deeply Greek ideas influenced the Jewish thinking of this period is shown in such characteristic works as *Ecclesiasticus* and the *Wisdom of Solomon*. Large numbers of Jews migrated to such centers of varied life as Antioch and Alexandria, forming, it is said, at one time two-fifths of the population of the latter city. Palestine was dotted with prosperous Greek towns such as afterwards formed the Decapolis. In Jerusalem itself by

6. Polybius, XXI, 1.

the time of Epiphanes a large and influential party was in existence, whose sympathies were with the new views. By favoring the King's Hellenistic projects and by promising increased tribute, one of this party named Jason succeeded in getting the orthodox high-priest, Onias III, deposed and secured the office for himself. A Greek gymnasium was erected, and so popular did the athletic sports become, that even the priests slighted the Temple rites in order to take part in them. The Greek hat was adopted by many. Some of the young men had the traces of circumcision removed by surgical operation. Finally the depth of degradation in the sight of a pious Israelite was reached when a contribution was sent to Tyre for the games in honor of Hercules; this, however, the bearers managed to have diverted to another purpose. In fact Judaism was in peril of falling a prey to this brilliant but immoral Hellenism, which conquered every religion with which it came in contact except that of Judea. On the contrary, there were not lacking those who mourned this degeneracy and advocated the old-time purity. These were mostly scribes and their adherents, legitimate successors of stern Ezra, and they formed a small but resolute party, styling themselves the Chasidim or the Pious.⁷ Politically the Chasidim favored Egypt. Thus their principles were in every way opposed to the interests of the King. Conflict was inevitable. For the present, however, the former were too weak and unpopular to stem successfully the tide of Hellenism, while Antiochus on his part was occupied in a war with Egypt.

The object of contention in this war was the possession of Palestine and Coele-Syria. For more than a century after the death of Alexander, with some slight interruptions, these districts had been under the rule of the Ptolemies. Antiochus Magnus had tried early in his career to get possession of them, but had met with severe defeat at the battle of Raphia (221 B. C.). Nearly a quarter of a century later, while Rome was occupied in the second war with Macedonia and when an infant king, Ptolemy V, was on the throne of Egypt, a second attempt was made. The Ptolemaic forces were defeated in a great battle at Baneas (the ancient Dan), and the title to the contested region passed to the Seleucids. But as a sort of compromise, it was agreed that the daughter of Antiochus, Cleopatra, should wed the boy king and should have as dowry the taxes of the ceded provinces during her life-time. On the death of Ptolemy V, about 182 B. C., Cleopatra became regent for their infant son. She was a prudent woman and a worthy founder of that singularly force-

7. Mathews, *History of New Testament Times in Palestine*, p. 12.

ful line of Cleopatras whose ability shamed the male members of the Egyptian house down to that last brilliant Cleopatra who played such a tragic part in the history of her time. During the regency of Cleopatra I, Egypt was quiet and prosperous; but at her death in 173 B. C. matters changed. The boy king, who now assumed the crown as Ptolemy Philometor, proved in later life to have decent capability, but as fledgeling monarch he was cursed with miserable guardians.⁸ These were a eunuch named Euleus and a Syrian slave, Leneas. The former from youth had been accustomed to feminine employments and, in Diodorus's piquant phrase, "had but recently laid aside the combs and perfume boxes of Venus to take up the struggles of Mars"; Leneas had just emerged from the seclusion of pedagogy. This pretty pair were plotting war against Antiochus IV for the recovery of Palestine. Their preparations consisted in heaping up treasure in the Alexandrian palace (to the alienation of their subjects), issuing pompous proclamations to the effect that not only were the lost provinces to be regained, but that the whole Syrian Kingdom was to be annexed. They provided also a plentiful supply of costly robes, ornamented drinking tables and golden-footed couches with an eye, forsooth, to comfort in the cities and fortresses which would readily surrender to them! Antiochus, on his part, showed common sense in the measures which he took. Tho a bit peculiar when off duty, he was at his best in a struggle. A compact and well equipped army was gathered. When the Anacleteria or enthronement of Philometor occurred, the King sent the useful Apollonius to the Alexandrian court to carry a message of congratulation and at the same time to cast around a wary glance; he returned with a clear report of conditions. Thereupon Epiphanes dispatched an embassy under Meleager to Rome, to protest against the Egyptian attack. He himself visited the disputed territory, going by sea to Joppa and thence to Jerusalem, where he was welcomed with "torches and shoutings". He then returned by way of Phoenicia. On arriving at Rome, Meleager found there an Egyptian delegation, which had been sent ostensibly to renew alliance, but really to watch the Syrians. True to their traditional policy toward the kingdom of the Nile, the Romans gave Ptolemy assurance of friendship; to Meleager they replied that the Roman commander in the East, Quintus Marcius, should be commissioned to write to Ptolemy as he should think it most to the interest of Rome and his own honor. It was clear

8. Diodorus Siculus, XXX, 19.

which side the Senate favored, but any active interference was prevented by the outbreak of the third Macedonian war.

The significance of the war of Antiochus with Egypt may be better understood, perhaps, by a glance at international affairs at this juncture. A trio of important battles near the turning of the century (Zama, 201, B. C.; Cynocephalae, 197; Magnesia, 190) had humbled the greatest rivals of Rome and given to her the hegemony of the Mediterranean. But this position was not yet fully assured. Carthage had recovered with such wonderful elasticity from her disasters that the foreboding of more than one Roman was expressed in Cato's famous *Carthago delenda est*. The Macedonians had never accepted their defeat at Cynocephalae as final. Philip V and after him his successor, Perseus, had bent all their energies toward preparation for the struggle on which Macedonia now entered with resources in better shape than for either of the preceding wars. For a long time the contest was in doubt. Had the generalship of Perseus equalled his diplomacy, the issue might have been otherwise. As it was, the war lasted four years before Aemilius Paulus gave the finishing stroke at Pydna (168, B. C.). Meanwhile, Antiochus IV was free to take up the age-long struggle for the highway between two continents—a struggle which had been waged in turn by Chaldean, Hittite, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, and Greek against the hoary land of the Pharaohs. But his designs were not limited to Palestine; he desired to conquer Egypt itself and to unite its crown to his own. The consolidation of two such ancient and opulent kingdoms of course would be prejudicial to Roman supremacy. From the point of view of the Romans, therefore, the situation during the years 172-168 B. C. was threatening: Carthage was ever an object of suspicion; Macedon was waging an obstinate war; a third powerful foe might result from the union of Syria and Egypt.

The war was begun by an Egyptian army crossing the frontier. The sixteen-year old king accompanied it, but the real commanders were the two incapables, who, to quote Diodorus again, had made "thorough preparation for bringing destruction upon themselves."⁹ Antiochus, on the other hand, was by no means dilatory. With a

9. The details of this war are perplexing both as to the succession of events and the number of campaigns. Polybius and Livy indicate two of the latter, the book of Daniel refers to three but the last reference is plainly apocalyptic. From the account in the fifth chapter of II. Mac., some historians have endeavored to trace a separate expedition for each of the four years of the war. The author of that work, however, may have referred his general conceptions of the war to a single campaign, as do Justinus, Appian and Diodorus. At any rate, the historical character of II. Mac. is not sufficiently trustworthy to impair Livy or Polybius and to overcome the improbability of annual campaigns from Antioch. For the best discussion of the subject, see Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 494. The account in the text assumes but two expeditions.

moderate but well trained force, he met his opponents just north of the Isthmus, on the plain between Mt. Casium and the Great Sea. The dainty-fed Ptolemaic courtiers proved no match for the Syrians and turned to flight. As they did so, Antiochus rode up and commanded his troops not to slay but to capture, thus exhibiting a humanity, Diodorus observes, which was of benefit to him in his later operations in Egypt. About the same time the Syrian fleet, also, was victorious in an engagement off Pelusium. A truce followed. It was probably during this time, that the craven Eulaeus counselled Philometor to gather his treasures together, surrender his opulent kingdom without a blow, and find ignoble safety in Samothrace, advice which the ancient historians reprobate most earnestly. But with an ill faith blamed even by his admirer, Diodorus, Antiochus broke the truce, captured Pelusium, the strong fortress at the Eastern mouth of the Nile, and in some way got possession of the person of his nephew. Thereupon without opposition he marched straight to Memphis. He was invested there with some sort of office, of just what nature is not certain: Jerome says in his commentary on Daniel that Antiochus was crowned king *ex more Aegypti*, and, that he regarded himself as practically king, is shown from coins issued by him in Egypt.¹⁰ His conciliatory policy and the disaffection of the native population led to the submission of all lower Egypt except Alexandria, where the Greek element was predominant and the Jews, always loyal to the Ptolemies, very numerous. In that city Philometor's younger brother, Physcon, was crowned king as Euergetes II, with their sister, Cleopatra, who seems to have inherited the common sense of the mother, as his associate.

Antiochus acted with astuteness and decision. He now posed as the champion of the older brother and asserted that it was his purpose to reseat him on the throne. The latter appears to have confided in his subtle uncle, or perhaps, as the book of Daniel suggests, "both were speaking lies at one table". At any rate, Antiochus advanced on the recalcitrant city. While proceeding down the Nile he was met by an embassy sent by Physcon to attempt pacification. Its members were envoys from various Greek cities, who were visiting Alexandria on official business. Antiochus received them with that courtesy of which he was master on occasion and quite won them over to his point of view. Arrived at Alexandria, the Syrians laid close siege. About this time a deputation, of which we shall hear later, was sent by the besieged to Rome. In fact, so numerous were

10. Holm, *His. of Greece*, vol. IV, p. 399.

the delegations sent by the various states during this war, that it is hard to keep track of them. At the instigation of the Consul, Quintus Marcius, one came from the Rhodians to the camp of Antiochus with the purpose of adjusting matters. Antiochus told them curtly that he was acting for the rightful king: if the people wished to recall him, he, Antiochus, would not prevent. A mission sent by the Roman Senate itself also was unsuccessful.¹¹ The city apparently was reduced to the point of capitulation, when for some unknown reason the King paused. Livy suggests that Antiochus hoped for the continuance of the war by the brothers, until the country should become so exhausted that it would be an easy prey for himself; possibly rumors of revolt in Judea impelled him; most probably the Romans after all had something to do with his action, for thus Josephus expressly affirms, and in a letter written to Antiochus before Pydna and, therefore, referring to this expedition, Perseus reminds him that, "in a moment of victory he was forbidden to touch Egypt, the prize of his arms". But whatever the cause, he raised the siege, left Philometor in command at Memphis, and taking care to garrison Pelusium strongly, started for Antioch.

On his way thither, he turned aside to attend to affairs at Jerusalem. There the Hellenizing high-priest, Jason, had been deposed in favor of a certain Menelaus, who offered more money for the office. Besides being a devoted Hellenist, the new high-priest was most unscrupulous; in the language of that excellent bestower of epithets, the author of II Maccabees, "He had the passion of a cruel tyrant and the rage of a savage beast". Jason had gone into exile, but, on rumor of Antiochus's death in Egypt he had gathered a small army and suddenly assailed the city. Altho he slaughtered many of the people and succeeded in confining his rival to the citadel, finally he was defeated. Antiochus was in a rage at these proceedings, realizing the danger of having a turbulent city near the Egyptian frontier. Moreover, being a Selucid, he could hardly have avoided coveting the immense treasure in the Temple. As was natural with him, he took an extreme course and one destined to lead to momentous consequences. According to II Maccabees, "he took the city by force of arms, and commanded his soldiers to cut down without mercy such as came in their way and to slay such as went up upon the houses; and there was slaying of young and old, making way of boys, women, and children, slaying of virgins and infants." With the treacherous Menelaus as guide, the Temple was plundered. Every thing of

11. Pol. XXIX, 25.

value was carried off to Antioch whither the King departed. This was the worst calamity which had befallen Israel since the days of Nebuchadrezzar; and yet worse was to follow. For the time being, however, the attention of the King continued to be engrossed in the Egyptian situation.

Soon after his arrival at Antioch, as a sedative for restlessness on account of his course in the Nile country, he sent to Rome fifty talents (about \$55,000), one-third of which was to be retained by Rome and the remainder to be distributed as presents to various Greek cities. But in Egypt matters did not proceed as he wished. For a time after the withdrawal of the Syrian forces, the two Ptolemies persisted in hostilities. But Philometor having grown older and learned some sense from experience, became suspicious of his uncle, because of the garrison left at Pelusium, and opened negotiations with his brother and sister. Chiefly due to the latter, these were favorably received and peace was made. Philometor was admitted into Alexandria, where he and Physcon ruled as joint kings. Had Antiochus been sincere in his protestations that he was desirous only for the welfare of his protege, he might now have been content; but, as Polybus quotes from Simonides in this connection, "'Tis so hard to be good". Forgetful of promises, Antiochus renewed the war with the evident intention of conquering and holding Egypt. Whether he would succeed, depended on the outcome of the struggle in Macedonia; if the Macedonians were victorious, as for a while seemed not improbable, or even if the contest were sufficiently prolonged, the prospect seemed bright for Antiochus to subjugate the Empire of the Ptolemies and thus to make his reign the most glorious in Selucid annals.

Antiochus began the campaign by sending part of his fleet to make an attack on Cyprus, which was part of the Egyptian possessions. The remainder was ordered to proceed to the Egyptian coast. He himself conducted the army along the coast. At Rhinocolura, on the boundary between Palestine and Egypt, legates from the Ptolemies were met, who thanked him for past services, deplored his becoming an enemy and inquired what he wished. He replied with an ultimatum to the effect that he would stop his advance only on condition that Cyprus and the region surrounding Pelusium be surrendered to him. These terms not being accepted within the time specified, the fleet sailed up the Pelusian mouth of the Nile, while the army entered Egypt by the desert route. From Pelusium the Syrian advance was directed a second time towards Memphis, which again promptly submitted. This city afforded a basis for operations in

the surrounding country. Without serious difficulty Antiochus regained control of all lower Egypt except the Capital. Affairs were thus restored to the same status as in the first expedition. Meanwhile, the hapless Ptolemies sent an appeal for help to the Achean League, the only respectable power in Greece proper. A bill to send troops to Alexandria was introduced in the Achean diet and was championed by no less a personage than Polybius himself. But it was defeated, and instead another innoxious embassy was voted. No help could be anticipated from that quarter. The Egyptian cause seemed hopeless. Antiochus was marching confidently upon Alexandria, when at Eleusine, four miles above the city, occurred an event which frustrated all his plans.

During the first siege, when the city was hard pressed, Physcon and Cleopatra had sent an embassy to Rome which, by making a most woebegone appearance before the Senate, had mightily moved it. Whereupon a decree was passed that ex-consul Caius Popilius Laenas should be commissioned to endeavor to curb the ambitious Seleucid. The ex-consul was not unfit for the task, being a stern old cub, littered from like breed. During his consulship he and his brother Marcus had engaged in a bitter contest with the Senate, when that body wished to bring Marcus to trial because of the "ferocious temper" he had shown in cruelties towards the Ligurians. Within three days after the passing of the degree, this truculent envoy, at the head of the usual delegation, was on his way. But when they arrived at Delos, they found that Macedonian rovers were taking advantage of the inviolability of that port to make sallies on the Roman transports bound north. Knowing that matters were at a critical stage in Macedonia, Popilius tarried there some time in order to direct the movement of the Roman ships. At last the decisive victory of the Romans at Pydna not only left Popilius free to prosecute his journey, but gave him surer confidence of success; for Pydna changed the entire complexion of things in the East. Accordingly, stopping only at Rhodes, where the harsh aspect and violent speech of the ex-consul gave the worthy burghers a sound fright, the embassy pressed on to Alexandria and to the Syrian camp at Eleusine. Then ensued a celebrated scene. Antiochus had known Popilius at Rome and now came forth extending his hand in his own pleasing manner. But the Roman, drawing back, bade him waive personal courtesies, until the demands of country had been attended to, and instead of his hand gave the astonished king the tablets of the Senate and desired him to peruse them and to return answer. These ordered Antiochus to withdraw at once from Egypt. He replied that he

would consult with his "friends" as to what was to be done. Thereupon the terrible Popilius, with a vine-rod which he happened to be carrying, drew a circle around the perturbed monarch and gruffly commanded him to "deliberate there" and not to step out before giving reply. Antiochus was completely nonplussed by this haughty mandate. He had come so near the goal for which he had been scheming and battling so long,—a goal which, attained, would have doubled his power and glory. And yet, Pydna had just been fought; the victorious legions were ready to sweep down upon him; residence among the Romans had taught him the relentless vigor of their policy. Could he risk another Magnesia? Pride must yield to judgment. After a brief interval of embarrassed silence, the King said that he would do as the Senate directed. The Romans then shook hands with him as with a friend and ally. Within the time agreed upon, he withdrew his army into Syria, in high dudgeon, indeed, and yielded to the necessities of the times.¹² Popilius restored order in Egypt and then sailed for Cyprus, where also the King's forces had been successful both on sea and land. Popilius gave them summary dismissal. These transactions greatly added to the Roman prestige in the East. Indeed, this year (168 B. C.) marks the beginning of a definite policy of imperialism on the part of Rome: at about the same time the Europeans division of the mighty Macedonian's realm was extinguished, the Asiatic humbled, the African reduced to ap-panage.

The ignoble repulse in Egypt and the consequent restraint of activity aggravated the eccentricity of Antiochus. A notable instance of this is found in the great festival which he held at Daphne soon after his return, in whimsical emulation of the triumph of Aemilius Paulus in Macedonia. Such was the profusion of expense and display, that "it became the rage in all Greece to attend these games." They began with a gorgeous parade, in which marched upwards of sixty thousand troops,—Mysians, Cilicians, Thracians, Gauls, and Macedonians,—all attired in the most varied and expensive armor. Besides these, Polybius informs us, "it is impossible to tell the number of the gods; for representations of every god or demi-god or hero accepted by mankind were carried there, some gilded and others adorned with gold embroidered robes; and the myths belonging to each, according to accepted tradition, were represented by the most costly symbols". Numerous boys carrying precious plate, and women

12. For this incident Polybius, XXIX, 27 and Livy, XL, 12 are the chief sources.

seated on golden footed litters combined, with other extravagant features, to make a picture of true oriental prodigality. During the thirty days of the festival there was a continual round of gladiatorial shows and luxurious banquets. What most amazed and shocked the visitors, however, was that the master of all this display appeared, "the cheapest kind of a king." Mounted on an inferior nag, he acted as marshal of the great parade, looking no better than a decent servant. At the feasts he showed the guests their places and mingled with them in the most fantastical way, even at one time acting the part of a buffoon. Polybius sums up his account as follows:—"In fact all who attended the festival, when they saw the extraordinary wealth displayed at it, the arrangements made in the processions and games, and the scale of splendor on which the whole was managed, were struck with amazement and wonder both at the King and the greatness of his kingdom; but when they fixed their eyes on the man himself and the contemptible conduct to which he condescended, they could scarcely believe that so much excellence and baseness could exist in one and the same breast".¹³ And yet in political matters this strange king had not lost his sagacity. Soon after the great show, an embassy headed by Tiberius Gracchus arrived from Rome, with the purpose of investigating Syrian affairs in general, but in particular to find out whether Antiochus was engaging in any plots with Eumenes of Pergamum. Atho Epimanes was profoundly incensed at the Romans, he nevertheless handled Tiberius with such skill that the later was completely deceived and returned to Rome with praise for Antiochus. In Judea, however, the King's policy was leading to deplorable results.

While the gay crowds at Antioch were revelling in splendid entertainments and gossiping of the mad gambols of their sovereign, the humble folk on the Judean highlands were sorrowing and dying. When Antiochus in such thoro ill-humor was on his way back from Egypt, he had resolved to have done once for all with these Chasidim, whose pro-Egyptian tendencies were a menace to the security of his state, and whose stern religious devotion was ever thwarting his pet Hellenizing schemes. A large part of the nation was committed already to Hellenism; why not crush the Chasidim and their perverse religion and thus bring thoro unity to this distraught country? Accordingly, Apollonius was sent up to Jerusalem in command of a force of twenty-two thousand. Having deluded the Jews with protestations of peace, that "Lord of Pollutions", as II Maccabees

13. Pol. XXXI. 5.

caustically styles the Syrian general, took advantage of the Sabbath and "fell upon the city suddenly and smote it very sore and destroyed much people out of Israel." Jerusalem was looted, and the walls were partially pulled down. The hill overlooking the Temple was strongly fortified and became an acropolis for the Syrians, which they held, to the harassment of the patriots, for a quarter of a century. Then occurred that which ever afterward was viewed with utmost horror by the Jews; upon the great altar of burnt-offering an altar to Jupiter, the ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION, was erected, and a sow was offered! Then the persecution became systematic. A proclamation was issued commanding the abandonment of the customs of the Law on penalty of death. Copies of the Sacred Writings, wherever found, were destroyed. Bacchanalian processions were instituted. Matters came to such a pass that "A man could neither keep the Sabbath, nor observe the feasts of the fathers, nor so much as confess himself to be a Jew." Those who acknowledged Judaism or refused to conform to Greek rites were executed, often with great cruelty. Two women, who circumcised their sons, were led thru the streets with their babes hung about their necks and were then pitched from the wall. Many of the people fled to the country districts, others apostatized. Heathen colonists were introduced and Jerusalem became "strange to her own children". The persecution now spread to the outlying towns, to which officers made monthly visits and required the inhabitants to eat swine's flesh or die. With the capital lost, part of the nation apostate and the rest fugitive, surrounding heathen vengeful and lusting for spoil, and an unrelenting king bound on its extirpation, Judaism never had been in a more critical state.

The literature of the period echoes the emotions of the Pious. The thought of Psalms XLIV, IXXIV and LXXIX would indicate that they were products of this terrible time. The Visions of Enoch (Chs. 83-90) behold the Chasidim as lambs torn by fierce birds, and the Sibylline Oracles (Bk. III) express the sympathy of Alexandrian Jews. But more important than any of these was a work of unknown authorship, published under the safe and popular form of apocalyptic. In it breathed the spirit of that ardent prophetism which had admonished, guided, and inspired Israel in all her severest crises, the darkest of which, the Exile, furnished the back-ground. A certain Daniel, whom tradition reported as an important personage in exilic days, was the chief character, and over against him were set rulers symbolical to the Jewish mind of the height of grandeur and power. The first six chapters are a series of stories depicting the

trials of Daniel and his companions and their triumph thru the protection of Jehovah. The resolve of the Jewish princes, "not to defile themselves with the king's meat," expressed the temper of the pious Jews of Antiochus's time, when called to the decisive test; and the heroic words put into the mouths of the youths who faced the fiery furnace, came straight from hearts unappalled by seven-fold fierceness of persecution: "If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us out of the fiery furnace; and he will deliver us out of thine hand, O King. But if NOT, be it known unto thee, O King, that we will not serve thy Gods." Against such a spirit, Antiochus might rage in vain. In the second part of the book, in true prophetic fashion, history is interpreted in the light of the Divine purpose. The people are admonished (in Daniel's sublime prayer) that because of their sins this calamity has befallen; on the other hand they are promised that the trouble of the present shall be succeeded by the glorious kingdom of their God. It is true that this crafty and contemptible Antiochus has perverted many by his flatteries, and speaks great things, and thinks to change the times and the law and aims to wear out the saints of the Most High; but he shall come to his end and none shall help him. The Book of Daniel was so clearly adapted to its end and appealed so strongly to the most exalted sentiments that it scarcely could have failed to produce an immediate and profound effect. It is probable that it aided, if it did not incite, the Maccabean revolt, which finally put an end to Syrian domination.¹⁴

At the little town of Modein, a few miles north-west of Jerusalem an elderly Jew of priestly lineage, named Mattathias, had taken refuge. His five stalwart sons accompanied him. But they were not to remain unmolested. One of the Syrian officials charged with enforcing apostacy, visited the village and summoned the people together to offer heathen sacrifices. As the chief man of the place, Mattathias was called upon to conform and promised the King's favor, if he would do so; but he quietly and sternly refused. When one of his neighbors came forward to partake of the heathen rites, the old man lost all self-control and ran up and killed the renegade, Then he and his sons made like end of the Syrian deputy. Thereupon a call was issued:—"Whoever is zealous for the Law and maintains the covenant, let him come forth after me." In response a small band rallied and, under the leadership of the aged patriot, betook themselves to the wild gorges and limestone cliffs of the Jeshimon or wilderness of Judea. There the Chasidim joined the fugi-

14. Ewald, *History of Israel*. vol. V. p. 305.

tives in such numbers, that forays were undertaken in all directions, in which apostates were slain, children were circumcised, and heathen altars pulled down. Mattathias, however was not able to endure long so strenuous a life and died, leaving the chief command to his son, Judas. The latter was probably the greatest captain and certainly one of the purest and most fascinating characters in Hebrew history. He was called **MACCABEUS**, that is, the Hammerer. His ability was soon put to the test. Apollonius, whom we have seen as ambassador for Antiochus at Alexandria and at Rome and as governor of Palestine, now collected a force of Greeks and Samaritans and came against the patriots. His army was defeated and himself slain, and his sword was thenceforth worn by the redoubtable Hammerer. The next attempt under Seron, the Commander-in-chief of the Syrians, was overcome by a sudden and daring attack at the pass of Beth-horon.

On learning of these disasters, Antiochus was greatly enraged. He at once began recruiting his forces with the purpose of crushing thoroly these presumptuous subjects. But the extravagances of the King and the decrease in the revenues due to plague and dissensions had so depleted the treasury, that he began to be in straits for funds. Moreover, the Euphrates provinces needed his attention, for the tribute thence was long overdue and revolt, always slumbering in that locality, seemed imminent. Under these circumstances, a kinsman of the king, Lysias, was appointed governor of Syria and Palestine, with orders to wage exterminating war on the Chasidim. What was deemed an ample army was left for this purpose. With the rest of his forces Antiochus marched away to the East which was the grave of more than one gallant Seleucid. But before proceeding with his career there, let us see how his orders in regard to Judea resulted.

With willing obedience Lysias sent against Judas an army of forty-seven thousand under Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias. So certain did victory appear, that a large number of slave dealers accompanied it. Recognizing the desperateness of the situation, the Asmoneans prepared for a supreme effort. At Emmaus, some twenty miles west of Jerusalem, the little army of six thousand confronted the Syrian host. Not only were numbers against them, but also treachery, for one of the Hellenistic Jews from the citadel guided Gorgias with a strong detachment in order to surprise Judas by night. But that prudent and daring commander got information of this, abandoned his camp, and marched straight for the main army of the enemy. Arrived before it, he gave his men the watch-word, "God will help," and led in a wild charge. The Syrians, who were

hastily drawn up in line of battle, could not withstand the fierce rush and fled. With admirable discretion, Judas recalled his men from pursuit, restrained them from plundering the camp, and formed to meet Gorgias. When that worthy saw how matters stood, however, he had no stomach for further contest and withdrew. Another victory the next year over a still larger army under Lysias himself, who attempted to gain the Judean highland by the less rugged southern route, gave the patriots sufficient respite to cleanse and rededicate the Temple. This noteworthy event, which occurred on the third anniversary of the defilement, was commemorated in after years by the Feast of Dedication. To pursue further the fortunes of Israel, would cause us to digress too far. Suffice to say, that the struggle precipitated by Epiphanes Epimanes continued until, under the nephew of Judas, John Hyrcanus, it eventuated in a free state, whose limits were about the same as in the proud days of Solomon. The party of the Chasidim differentiated into Pharisees and Essenes, while the liberal element emerged as Sadducees; these parties determined the course of religious thought in Judea, until the time of Jesus.

While the Syrian armies in Palestine were thus meeting with repeated disasters, Antiochus was wearing himself out against the lethargy and hostility of the East. Of his movements there up to the time of his death, we are ignorant. But his disposition certainly would not have permitted inactivity. From what we know of subsequent expeditions into the same region,—a region where, little more than a century later, a Roman army under Crassus the Rich was swallowed up by the terrible Parthians—, we can imagine him toiling on long desert marches, distressed by famine and thirst, and harassed by the wild tribesmen; later he would come to fertile districts, where still survived Persian and Greek civilization, and where wealth would tempt cupidity; but ever, as he drew nearer the lair of the Parthian, hostility would increase, until at last he was compelled to turn back. The limit of his wanderings was reached in Elymais. He heard of a temple of Artemis there, which was famous for its treasures. Thither he bent his steps at the head of his depleted army, but only to meet repulse. He retreated to Ecbatana. While there, he received news of the defeats which his armies had sustained in Judea. Jewish accounts probably are correct in stating that he was inflamed with resentment at these tidings and that he vowed to make a grave-yard of Jerusalem; but that, on his journey homeward, when stricken by torturing disease, he repented of his conduct towards the Jews and wrote a letter beseeching them to treat his son

kindly, is scarcely credible. This combination of misfortunes, however, so aggravated the King's mental disorders that he became insane and at Tabae, a town in Persia, reached his end (164 B. C.). Jewish chroniclers are certain that "this piteous fate in a strange land" was Divine retribution for his sins against their nation. Immediately upon Antiochus's death Philip, one of his "friends," assumed the guardianship of his son, Eupator, who was but a youth; but this was soon wrested from him by Lysias.

The reign of Antiochus IV was the last which gave to Syria any prosperity and peace; thenceforth a prey to internal dissensions and warring aspirants for the crown, pressed by Parthia on the north and Egypt on the south, she lingered along until engulfed by Rome.

ADDENDUM

Altho the above article was worked out from the sources a number of years ago, later study does not seem to require essential alteration. Since it was written a notable work has appeared in *The House of Selencus* by Edwyn R. Bevan. The career of Antiochus IV is set forth in a scholarly and illuminating manner in Volume II, pp. 127-177.

Reference should be made also to an article by Phillips Barry in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Volume XXIX, Part Two, pp. 126-128; and to one by Hugo Willrich in *Klio*; *Beitrage zur alten geschichte*, Volume IV, pp. 116-117.

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Book Reviews

GOVERNMENT BY ALL THE PEOPLE: DELOS F. WILCOX, Chief of the Bureau of Franchises, Public Service Commission, New York City. The Macmillan Company, New York. XI + 324 pp. Price, \$1.50, *net*.

This book is frankly partisan. It is an argument for the initiative, referendum and recall. This brief quotation from the preface illustrates both the point of view and the breezy, unconventional style of the author: "For their unconscious help in the preparation of this book, I am grateful to the nameless pioneers who have spent their strength and haply lost their lives struggling to roll away the stone from the sepulchre of democracy; to William S. U'Ren and John R. Haynes, annunciators and provers on the other edge of the continent of the resurrection of the body politic; to William J. Bryan, Robert M. LaFollette, Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt, the great apostles to the gentiles; and last but not least to Joseph W. Bailey, William Barnes Jr. and Nicholas Murray Butler, intrepid rear guards of retreating paganism."

Wilcox's thesis is this. Athens supported a glorious democracy. The New England town-meeting was a perfect school of self-government. Both of these belong essentially to the past. But now, thanks to our modern tools of education and communication, it is possible to extend the spirit of the Athenian democracy and the New England town-meeting to our cities and states and even our nation. Using the initiative, referendum and recall as implements of democracy, we may expect a progressive movement towards stability, justice and public spirit in the political institutions of our great republic.

This thesis is ably and interestingly developed. With clearness, vigor and force he states not merely the stock arguments, but apparently all valid arguments, both for and against these so-called implements of democracy. He is willing to go the whole length with these reforms. One of the best chapters in the book is that on the recall of judges, in which he cites in support of his position the now famous article of President Hadley on "The Constitutional Position of Property in America" (In the Independent of April 16, 1908).

In a final chapter he carries his arguments for these reforms a step further than most advocates do. He would apply "Majority

Rule"—as he terms these measures—to the Federal Government." "When it comes to the currency," says Wilcox, "the trusts and the protection of property, why, these are the very things we are gunning for. If the people cannot enforce their will in regard to *them*, there is little use of our going to all this trouble to invent new tools of democracy."

This book should be in the hands of college debaters, of students of American politics, of teachers of civics, of perplexed legislators and of all others who wish a clear, adequate, concise statement of the arguments, pro and con, on these moot questions.

It is a timely book, the best we have yet seen on the subject, and one for which the competent author deserves the sincere thanks of all serious people.

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THE NEW EUROPE: REGINALD W. JEFFREY, Brasenose College, Oxford. The Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1911. XVI + 401 pp.

Mr. Jeffrey has given his readers a book on Modern European history that will serve admirably as a summary and review. While lacking continuity in the development of the 100 years, the story of special periods is well told, in a picturesque style. In justice to the author it should be said that the purpose of the book is to give a simple introduction to the greater works on Modern Europe, leaving it to the reader to seek more extended discussion elsewhere. The volume contains a dozen good maps, as many genealogical tables, and a brief list of general works.

FRANK L. McVEY

University of North Dakota

THE SCIENCE OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR—BIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS: MAURICE PARMELEE, University of Missouri. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1913. XVI + 443 pp. Price, \$2.00, *net*.

Professor Parmelee has written this work with the purpose of helping to rescue sociology and other social sciences from a tendency to generalize without due regard to biological and psychological foundations. Every science should reduce its matter to the lowest

possible terms, that is, to those of the science or sciences on which it rests. While this is true, a science should depict the characteristics which are peculiar to itself. By these means the continuity of the evolutionary field is shown along with the creative progress in the advancing series. In order to accomplish this two-fold task the author has devoted much attention to biological phenomena and their concomitant animal behavior. This is comprised in the first seven chapters, with the exception that the first explains what the science of behavior is. Neurological matters occupy the next three chapters, the field of psychology is covered in chapters 11 to 16, and the remainder of the treatise concerns itself with social evolution. The volume is one of a series which is projected to cover the field of human culture and human nature.

As a compendium of information dealing with these various fields of biology, neurology, psychology and social evolution, the work will prove useful to scientific readers who do not have access to authoritative sources dealing with those various subjects. Some chapters, such as those dealing with tropisms, functions of the nervous system, and cerebral localization, and those treating the instincts will prove valuable handbooks on those subjects for the busy student and teacher. The writer is at his best in those chapters.

He considers instinct as a congenital tendency to a fixed mode of reaction, and distinguishes it from reflex action only in making it a combination of reflex actions. Since he confines reflex actions to organisms having a nervous system, instinct excludes tropisms, which Loeb and others would consider instinctive. Further, while instinctive action may be accompanied by consciousness, the latter is not an essential ingredient of it. Instinct is only one of the stages on the upward way to intelligence, and is a good foundation material for the latter because it is modifiable. "When a certain number of these instincts which are relatively modifiable have evolved, and when the central nervous system has developed parts which are not specialized at birth, so that they can serve as association areas, then intelligence may make its appearance." (p. 266).

Naturally the author holds that the activities of the lowest organisms are tropic and mechanical in nature. Consciousness of a directive kind is nil. Only by building up a complicated organism with a differentiated nervous system in which coordination of parts for the good of the whole is requisite does selective and directed behavior become possible. This chiefly lies in the field of human action altho animals may have an element of reason.

In the portion of the volume dealing with social evolution the

author appears to believe in original promiscuity of sex-relations. This is disputed by such authorities as Westermarck and Spencer. However Mr. Parmelee does not make too much of this and adds that other forms of sex relationships, the various forms of marriage, soon grew upon this stem. He differs from many writers, and I think, correctly, in holding that the family does not furnish the social unity. The latter is possible only by reason of a larger associational group than the family, save perhaps in the instance of the patriarchal family which of course was a stage in social evolution.

Many things in this volume are worthy of notice. The author seems to misuse the term "acquired character" on page 27, where changes in organic forms due to environment are placed under that class. But there is so much to praise that such a slip is a trifle. The volume is worthy of careful perusal.

JOHN M. GILLETTE

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THE GOVERNMENTS OF EUROPE: FREDERICK AUSTIN OGG, Assistant Professor of History, Simmons College. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1913. XIV + 668 pp. Price, \$3.00, *net*.

This work the author tells us is intended as a text for use in college courses. For this purpose the material has been carefully arranged with excellent bibliographical lists for each chapter. It is at once an exceedingly practical text and a useful up-to-date book of reference. In the apportioning of space to be given to the discussion of the different states of central and western Europe, England occupies a prominent place, nearly one third of the whole work being devoted to the discussion of the problems connected with the government of this state. This emphasis, which the author lays upon the English constitution and on the legal and administrative system, is no doubt justified by the fact that the work is designed for use in American classes. One could wish, however, that some brief discussion had been given to the government of England's dependencies, as rounding out the evolution of the forms and tendencies in the mother state. Particularly useful to our students just now, would be a concise statement of political conditions for Canada, and the Australian states, along the same lines as those followed in the present discussion. Such a treatment as this, however brief, would tend to focus England's experience upon the questions belonging to

regions and peoples far removed from the traditional Anglo Saxon seat of authority. The Irish situation is rather scantily treated in view of the present importance of this question.

The chapters on Germany, France and Austro Hungary are admirably done and cover a very confused and tangled field adequately and with nice adjustment of subject matter to the relative importance of the numerous topics to be treated. Especially well handled in the chapter on Italy is the delicate question of the relation of the Vatican to the state government. In the presentation of the material on Scandinavia it would have been well to give at least a few paragraphs to Iceland's unique experiment at self-government. Not merely does this Icelandic form represent a striking exception in European politics, but it has a bearing on the life of every modern Germanic state where there are at work democratic tendencies of whatever variety.

The omission of Russia from the list of states whose government it outlined here came about from the determination of the author not to include any states of eastern Europe. None the less, however, there might have been given in connection with the account of Austro-Hungary, some statement of the government and legal system of this principal Slavic state in Europe, and this addition would be justified on account of the intimate racial and religious ties between the people of Russia and those of Austro-Hungary.

One of the most valuable features of the work is the clear and succinct account of the political parties in each state, the issues that divide them and something of the party evolution that has already transpired. This, perhaps, more than anything else, gives a freshness and clarity to the author's portrayal that is so commonly lacking in works of this nature.

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ECONOMICS AS THE BASIS OF LIVING ETHICS: JOHN G. MURDOCH, Professor of the English Language, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, New York. Allen Book and Printing Company, Troy, New York, 1913. x+373 pp. Cloth, \$2.00 *net*.

The chapters of the book were originally delivered as lectures before the People's Forums of Troy, and of Schenectady, New York, and are a continuous discussion of the dependence of ethics upon economics. The author lays the foundation for this discussion in

the Marxian conception of history, namely, that the state, the family, the institutions, and even consciousness itself, have their roots in economic relations; that it is not man's consciousness that determines his social existence, but his social existence that determines his consciousness; that the mode of production in material life conditions the social, political, and spiritual life-processes of man. That is to say, man is an animal before he is a thinker—the spiritual is cradled in the material.

Keeping this conception, the author defines history as the evolution of economics. The collision of nations, the struggles of the classes, and the clash of individuals, find their explanation in the contest about material interests. The Declaration of Independence contains no ethical, philosophical, or emotional phrase that was not stimulated by economic needs. Of the twenty-nine indictments against King George, ten deal with wealth, tax, commerce, war; ten with interference with laws securing life and property; and the remaining nine with legal procedure in relation to property. Of the sixty-three articles of the Magna Charta, forty-eight refer to property. Politics has been dominated by property. Hamilton's report on finance started a long line of legislation and party controversy. The struggle between the North and South was not a moral contest but an economic conflict.

What is ethical is largely a transfigured economic. Genetically, the economic passes from the crass, "the starkly personal or tribal, frankly and savagely selfish," to the wide-ranging, racial and ideal. Out of the latter, ethics is born. The perfected economic has become the ethic. To show that this conception has little prevailed, the author invokes the history of ethics as the history of the divorce of the ideal and material, of the ethical and economic: Aristotle and Plato conceiving society as *a posteriori* to the principles of society; a churchly Aquinas preaching the priority of the Church over science; a Kant, a Hegel, and a Spencer, subordinating the economic to the ethical. Social Contracts, Natural Rights, and Divine Sanctions are fantasies, for, behind all religions, ethics, and governments have stood red-blooded men and women enforcing *as best they could* their ideals and interests. There is no "pure ethics"; man is the cause and sanction of governments and ethical systems.

From this point of view the author discusses at much length Clark's Productivity Theory which he alleges to be imputed and not resident and based upon an ethics that, independent of economic relations, stands upon its own feet. The "natural law of distribution," the "scientific law of wages, etc." considered by Clark as independent

of social organizations, and the "pure science" problems, arose after the social division came about. These scientific explanations do not stand because they are *a priori* but because they were once enforced by some powerful social or economic influence.

Taking up the Austrian-Yale theory of interest, namely, that it is a "natural necessity" quite independent of social institutions, against which it is useless to contend, and which consequently is ethically sound, the author asserts that the efficient cause of interest-getting is the love of gain and the power to extract it, and that its ethical purity rests upon exterior political and economic relations. Interest is exploitation, even tho in theory it may seem to be something else.

The author next essays to search the ethical and philosophical systems of Immanuel Kant in quest of economic presuppositions, but finds his economics unreal and his society not actual. He finds only theory based on celestial fancy. The fact is, Kant's thoughts are full of the Romanticism that infested the community thought of his century. Having failed to find economic presuppositions of ethics in Kant, he finds Westermarck's pages bristling with facts that argue the economic determinism of ethics, namely, that the pursuit of economic goods determines a mass psychology that introduces consciousness, insight, and foresight into life, and thereby founds ethics.

The reviewer feels that his study of this book has added to his conception of ethics. It presents valuable subject-matter that in structure sometimes gives the impression of unwieldiness, yet possesses constantly strong originality. Its criticisms of current theory are militant, not apologetic. In material make-up the volume is individual, but lacks some of the finishing touches of the expert printer and bookbinder. On the whole, the book seems to be a little in the rough.

The actual contribution of the volume consists in teaching an ethics doing service; in calling us back from apriorism to life.

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CONSTRUCTIVE RURAL SOCIOLOGY: JOHN M. GILLETTE, Professor of Sociology, University of North Dakota. Sturgis & Walton Company, New York, 1913. xiv+301 pp. Price, \$1.60 net.

For some time material has been accumulating for a text in rural sociology. Hitherto, however, such a text has been lacking,

at least one making a systematic survey of the conditions of rural communities from a comprehensive sociological standpoint. Professor Gillette's book fills this want and fills it admirably. In a volume of 300 pages he discusses the meaning and importance of rural sociology, the distinction between rural and urban communities, the different types of rural communities, owing to different occupations, the relative rate of rural and urban increase, the social nature of the rural problem, advantages and disadvantages of farm life, the improvement of agricultural production, of the business side of farming, of transportation and communication, of rural health and sanitation, making farm life more attractive, the socialization of country life, rural social institutions and their improvement, the church, the school and farmers' organizations, rural charity and correction, and finally, rural social surveys.

This outline of the subjects treated in the book indicates at once, that the work is eminently suited for use in universities, agricultural colleges, and normal schools as a text in rural sociology. It is, however, the treatment given these subjects which distinguishes the book from all others treating similar topics. The sociological point of view is preserved thruout. Moreover, as the title indicates, the work is not a mere abstract discussion of rural social conditions, but has a practical outlook, with constant suggestions for the solution of the rural social problem.

It is the strong grasp of sociological principles, which gives the book its great value as a discussion of the rural problem. In the first place, the author points out clearly that the rural problem is a part of the general social problem of our civilization, and that it cannot be understood apart from the great tendencies of our times. Hence he brings out strongly the point that the rural problem is not simply, nor even mainly, an economic problem; but that it is primarily a social problem in the broad sense, a problem of the way in which people live together. He emphasizes, therefore, the psychological and spiritual aspects of the rural life problem, tho this does not lead him to minimize the importance of economic and material conditions in rural communities. Indeed a large part of Chapters VII-XI is devoted to the discussion of the influence of the material and economic factors in rural life. If it be objected that these matters belong strictly in rural economics and not in rural sociology, the reply may well be that such a discussion is necessary to give a balanced treatment to the rural problem, and, therefore, adds greatly to the value of the text.

From all this it follows that Professor Gillette's practical suggestions for the solution of the rural problem are synthetic and sociological in character. No one remedy, he points out, will remove existing evils in American rural life. Moreover, many of these remedies are fatuous, because they fail to take into account the great social forces of our time. "Farm colonies and 'back-to-the-farm' movements," says Professor Gillette, "have very small possibilities as solvents. We might as well expect to dam the Mississippi River to keep back the flow from the Gulf as to avert the bulk of population from the cities." In other words, the rural social problem is to be solved only as the social problem in general is to be solved,—by attention to all phases of the social life of the people, including their economic conditions, their sanitation, their education, and their moral ideals, and by a synthesis of the social movements concerned with improving all of these conditions.

In conclusion, Professor Gillette's book is a mine of valuable, scientific information concerning all phases of American rural life. It is regrettable, of course, that the statistics of the 1910 census were in part not available when the book was written, but in no case, that the reviewer has observed, would such statistics materially change the trend of the discussions, or the conclusions reached. Everyone who reads the book will agree with President Vincent that "Professor Gillette has given us a valuable book which will be welcomed, not only in school and college, but by the general reader."

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University Notes

The Summer Session

The Summer Session of the University for 1912 was a distinct success. The enrollment tho not large in the aggregate was very satisfying being an increase over that of the former year of nearly twenty per cent. The student body was made up of a very earnest lot of young people, and with campus and weather conditions at their best made much of the opportunities. The session of 1913, beginning on June 23 and continuing for six weeks, gives promise of being even more successful and useful. The work has been extended and strengthened in sveral ways. Advanced enquiries have all along pointed to an increased interest and suggest a larger attendance. The Biological Station at Devils Lake will be open for work in Biology and Physiography.

Distinguished Guests

Altho the University of North Dakota is a little aside from the main lines of travel and from the great centers of population, its people do not live a cloistered life. Many members of its faculties belong to great national and international organizations and regularly attend the meetings called to discuss their respective interests, and not a few respond to invitations to lecture in various outside places. On the other hand, those in charge rightly make an effort to bring to the University each year representative leaders in the different fields of human thought and endeavor. During the year just closing many men and women of note have been guests of the institution.

In science the latest developments in the biological and the chemical fields were presented in a popular as well as in a technical manner by two "exchange lecturers" from the University of Manitoba, Dr. A. H. R. Buller, Professor of Botany, and Professor M. A. Parker, Head of the Department of Chemistry. The legal profession was ably represented during the year at different times by such eminent jurists as Hon. Charles F. Amidon, United States District Judge for the District of North Dakota, Hon. B. F. Spaulding, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of North Dakota, Associate Justice A. A. Bruce of the State Supreme Court and Judge Charles A. Pollock. All these men spoke very acceptably before the students of the College of Law. Judge Amidan also gave a Convocation address on "Reasons for Optimism" which was considered one of the finest of the year.

In the field of religion and religious education the institution was equally fortunate. Some of the leading men active in denominational and interdenominational lines of work presented various phases of the general subject in an interesting and suggestive manner. As among those should be named: Bishop Naphthali Luccock, of the Methodist church, Dr. Joseph Cochrane, Educational Secretary of the Presbyterian church, Professor Allen Hoben, of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago (Hazelett Lecturer to Wesley College), Dr. John Powell, Student Pastor of the University of Minnesota, Dr. S. S. Klyne of Minneapolis, and Dr. Charles C. Creegan, President of Fargo College.

Of unusual interest was a series of lectures by the famous Arctic explorer, Mr. V. Stefansson, a former student in the University. His experiences in the far north were told in a very entertaining manner and were decidedly stimulating to the imagination, while from a strictly scientific view-point they were of large educational value. A real treat was the series of talks and the Convocation address by Miss Marguerite Curtis, special correspondent of the *London Times* and the *Daily Mail*. In her descriptive presentation of English manners and institutions and in her more formal address on "Literary Reminiscences," she contributed much both of pleasure and profit.

The Scandinavian countries of Europe have been well represented during the year. Mr. C. S. Hambro, a Norwegian editor of prominence, spoke very acceptably in an illustrated lecture on "The Norway of To-day," and Mr. Henry J. Leach, Secretary of the Scandinavian-American Foundation, pleased his hearers in one on "Modern Scandinavian Art." Mr. George Bech, Danish Consul located at Chicago, also made a very favorable impression for both himself and his country and gave much valuable information in regard to his home land. All who heard one or more of these representatives were surprised and delighted to learn of the prosperity and progressiveness of these European States.

Mr. Henry Lawrence Southwick, President of the Emerson School of Oratory, greatly pleased the University people in his reading of Sheridan's "The Rivals" before the Sock and Buskin Society, and in his Convocation address on "The Oratory of Shakespeare." Dr. David Starr Jordan, President of Leland Stanford Junior University, sturdy champion of the great Peace movement, speaking on "A World Peace," gave instruction, widened horizons and won many adherents. The closing visit of the year from an outside source, was that of Dr. E. A. Birge, Dean of the College of Letters and

Science, University of Wisconsin, who gave the Baccalaureate address on the evening of June 15.

Visits of such people and other influences of a similar character, brought to bear from time to time, tend to keep the University community in touch with the movements of the time and in sympathy with progressive ideas the world over.

Extension Work

The steady and satisfactory growth of the University's extramural activities as represented by the different lines of activity carried on under the direction of the Extension Division during the past year has demonstrated conclusively that this work has a large place to fill in the educational scheme of the commonwealth. During the school year of 1912-13, extension lectures to the number of 151 were given in 68 different places located in 28 of the 50 different counties of the state. This work was participated in by 25 different members of the University faculty. The total attendance at these lectures numbered 18,345 people, or an average of 121 at each lecture. In addition to these lectures 40 Commencement lecture engagements were filled by members of the faculty in May and June, 1913, reaching towns in 22 different counties of the state.

The interest in Correspondence-study courses is steady and continuous. During the year, over 500 people have been supplied with literature and information regarding the work and many personal letters have been written to supplement the publications and to help out in special cases. On June 1, 1912, 33 students were enrolled in courses of this kind. Up to June 1, 1913, 46 new ones had been enrolled. With the eliminations due to the completion of courses and the dropping of students who did not care to continue, the enrollment of the department stood at 70 on the date above mentioned, a growth of 112%.

All thru the year, the library has been kept busy taking care of the increasing number of requests that come from out in the state for library material of various kinds. A report made up on December 1, 1912, showed that from September 1, 1911, to that date, 339 requests had been received from individuals, clubs and associations of various kinds asking for books, periodicals and various other works of reference. This service is state-wide, for these requests came from 103 different towns. Among the people inquiring were bankers, business men, editors, lawyers, ministers, teachers and many others. This work has continued to grow steadily thruout the year, and the time is not far distant when it will be necessary to have a special library assistant to take charge of it.

Two new departures have been undertaken in the extension work of the past year, and both have been very successful. One is the Citizens' Institutes—institutes planned and carried out with the idea of uplifting the ideals of communities and freshening the viewpoints of their citizens. One was held at Lisbon on the 29th and 30th of January, in the midst of typical winter conditions. In spite of the storm which was continuous thruout the two days, the people turned out very well, the total attendance at all of the sessions amounting to over 1800. Since the session of the institute, a number of the best suggestions growing out of the lectures and discussions have been put to work to the very noticeable betterment of the town. The second institute was held at Williston on the 26th and 27th of January and was equally successful. In both cases, the lectures and discussions were presented by regular members of the University faculty, with the Field Organizer for the Extension Division in charge as business and executive agent, and general organizer. The other new departure of the year was a beginning in the field of the study and lecture class which is the ideal arrangement for extension purposes. Regularly on Thursday evenings thruout the year, members of the Law School faculty have met with a class made up of members of the local chapter of the American Institute of Banking in Grand Forks and have lectured and quizzed the members of the class on topics relating to business law. This class has been well attended and the results have been very satisfactory. Other classes of this kind will probably be organized in Grand Forks and in other cities of the state in the near future.

Faculty**Appointments**

A number of new appointments have been made in the faculty of the University for the coming year. The death of Professor LeDaum left vacant the headship of the department of Romance Languages, to which Dr. Henry R. Brush of Hope College, Holland, Mich., has been appointed. Dr. Brush has had a number of years experience as a teacher, and has pursued graduate work at the University of Chicago, from which institution he received the doctor's degree. He has also spent a summer in France.

The importance of the Extension work grows each year with the development of the University and the growth of the state, and upon the resignation of Mr. N. C. Abbott, the Board of Trustees appointed Mr. J. J. Pettijohn to the office of Director of University Extension. Mr. Pettijohn has been secretary of the division of instruction by lectures of the Extension Department of the University of Wisconsin for the past two years. Prior to that time he had

been county superintendent and superintendent of schools. He comes well qualified and trained for the work that he is to undertake.

For some time the problem of athletics and physical education has been a pressing one at the University of North Dakota, and after the visit last winter of Dr. C. H. Hetherington, who came for the purpose of advising upon the matter of the reorganization of the department, Mr. Fred L. Thompson of New York City and Mr. F. V. Archer of Ottawa, Ill., were called to the directorship and assistant directorship of physical education. To Mr. Thompson will fall the general supervision of all of the work in athletics and physical education. Mr. Archer will have the coaching of the athletic teams under his direction. In connection with this change in administration, the gymnasium will be altered, enlarging the locker rooms, and with a running track erected. Provision will be made for the instruction of the young women in the gymnasium in Woodworth Hall. Under this new arrangement, it is expected that a new spirit will be injected into the athletic situation at the University, not only in the matter of the games, but in general play and in the larger participation of the student body.

The Interscholastic Meet The Twelfth State Inter-scholastic Meet was held at the University on May 16 and 17. At the same time there were held the Conference of High School Superintendents and Principals, the annual final debate between the two successful teams in the High School Debating League, and the annual High School Declamation Contest.

In size of attendance and scope of events the athletic meet was the best one that has ever been held at the University. The conference of superintendents and principals discuss a number of important and interesting problems and made some recommendations to the High School Board for future legislation. The debate was interesting and largely attended by the friends of the competing teams. The declamation contest, however, was not up to the usual mark of excellence. The choice of subjects was not of the character that has been hoped for, and plans are now under consideration for bringing about the selection of a more representative and literary type for presentation. These contests have a good deal of value from an educational point of view, and the University hopes that they may not drift into a mere amusement contest, toward which there seems some tendency. The audience was large and enthusiastic, and the young people did well within the scope of their selections.

Educational Legislation of 1913

The most important legislation which the session of 1913 passed was that relating to the establishment of a Board of Education. This bill was one of three proposed by the Educational Commission. The second bill related to the establishment of a system of industrial schools which was to give a definite place to the institutions at Wahpeton and Ellendale, while the third bill related to the making of reports and the presentation of budgets to the legislature before the opening of the session. The second bill failed of passage, but the other two passed in somewhat modified form.

The purpose of the Board of Education is to combine the work of the High School Board, the Board of Examiners and the Agricultural School Board into one organization. The Board is composed of the president of the University, the president of the Agricultural College, a Normal School president, an Industrial School president, the High School Inspector, the Rural School Inspector, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, a county superintendent and a citizen of the state. Governor Hanna has nominated President Hillyer of the Mayville Normal School, President Smith of the Academy of Science at Wahpeton, Miss Mamie Sorenson, Superintendent of Towner County, and Hon. L. F. Crawford of Sentinel Butte.

The Board is required to meet twelve times a year. The first meeting, for the purpose of organization of the Board, will take place in July. Much is expected of the Board, but it is difficult to prophesy what will be the outcome in the shaping of educational matters in this state thru an organization of this kind.

The University and the Peace Congress

The Fourth Congress of the American Peace Society was held in St. Louis the early part of May. The University was represented by President McVey, and from the state of North Dakota delegates were present in the persons of L. F. Crawford of Sentinel Butte, Mr. Baldwin of Oberon, and Mrs. F. L. McVey of Grand Forks. The Congress was addressed by men of international reputation, and a number of the speeches were of very high order. The work of developing a spirit of peace in the United States has been carried on under the direction of the American Peace Society for a period of eighty-five years, and the interest in it is greater to-day than it has been at any time in the history of its propaganda. It was clear in the Congress that this propaganda has reached a point where specific methods of work are essential, and that a program of education nation-wide must be

adopted, so that the American people may be impressed with the duty of this country in the establishing of world peace. It is in this connection that the universities have an important part to play. In one of the sections the topic for discussion was "Peace and the Universities," and it was shown that while something is being done, a great deal more should be done in the way of instruction concerning the cost of war. This undoubtedly will be a phase of instruction that will be undertaken more and more by the different educational institutions. Only by impressing the students of American colleges and universities will the country come to realize in full the duty which rests upon it to bring about world peace. In the University of North Dakota some instruction of this nature is given in the courses in sociology, and an occasional Peace Program has been given. Plans have been suggested for the enlargement of such courses in more definite instruction on the cost of war.

The University and the Historical Association The sixth annual session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held this year at Omaha, Nebraska, on May 8—10. This organization dates back to 1908, when the initial meeting was held for the purpose of formulating plans for bringing together the Social Science workers in the middle west. The idea was very well received and the new society has already on its roll more than a thousand members, distributed over practically every state in the Union and various countries of Europe. One feature of its work which has proved very acceptable has been the annual publication of its proceedings, which are sent free to every member. In addition to this there has just been projected a quarterly publication as a means by which much excellent unpublished material may find its way into print and become accessible to the public. One of the most important functions of this new organization has been to supply a large class of students and readers interested in Western history with the particular historical material which they demand. The annual meetings serve as a general clearing house for all those who can get together at some central point for the exchange of views and to hear of the progress of the various activities of the Association at first hand from those who are specially charged with preparing a report on what has been done.

At the Omaha meeting papers were read covering a wide range of topics both in point of time and in the particular section or state dealt with. The committee on Historic Sites reported in favor of the erection of a La Salle monument at the mouth of the Mississippi

river. Committees will be appointed to push this project to completion. A committee reported on the preparation of history teachers for high school work, and this will be the subject of two reports for next year. The executive committee voted to hold the next annual meeting, for 1914, in Grand Forks. This will furnish the people of this state an excellent opportunity to attend these sessions and hear the distinguished speakers who will appear on the program. The teachers' section has proved of special interest to the large numbers of those interested in the social science subjects, and their sessions are always well attended.

The University of North Dakota is represented in the membership of the Association by several of its faculty. It was represented at this meeting by Dr. O. G. Libby, head of the Department of History. Dr. Libby is *ex-officio* member of the Executive Committee of the Association and thus assists in the planning of the work from year to year.

**Commencement
Week**

The varied exercises of Commencement week were of unusual interest. The very favorable weather conditions which prevailed doubtless had much to do in making the attendance at all exercises large and the people happy. The performances, from the Model High School graduation up to the University Commencement proper, were in nearly every case of high grade. The graduating classes were all larger than ever before. One feature very appropriate and very pleasing to the University authorities as well as to the graduates themselves was the presence of a large number of guests in the persons of many alumni and of parents and other relatives of the graduates.

The program in detail was as follows:

Saturday, June 14 at 8:30 p. m.

Model High School Commencement Exercises.

Sunday, June 15 at 8:30 p. m.

Baccalaureate Service. Address by Dr. E. A. Birge, Dean of the College of Letters and Science, University of Wisconsin—Subject, "The Undergraduate Course."

Monday, June 15:

At 2:00 p. m. Senior Class Day Exercises and Senior Pilgrimage.

At 8:30 p. m. Presentation of "H. M. S. Pinafore" at Metropolitan Theater, Grand Forks.

Tuesday, June 17:

At 9:00 a. m. Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees.

At 12 m. Class Reunions and Luncheons.

At 2:30 p. m. Annual University Address, Dr. O. G. Libby—
Subject, "The Scholar in Politics."

At 3:30 p. m. Womens League Reception.

From 4:00 to 6:00 p. m. Inspection of Buildings, Libraries and
Laboratories.

From 6:00 to 8:00 p. m. Commencement Dinner.

At 8:00 p. m. Annual Meeting of the Alumni Association.

At 8:00 p. m. President's Reception.

At 9:30 p. m. Alumni Party.

Wednesday, June 18:

At 10:00 a. m. Commencement Exercises.

The numbers receiving the various degrees and certificates are
as follows:

Honorary (Master of Laws) -----1-----1

Masters:

Master of Arts -----2

Master of Science -----1

Master of Science in Mining Engineering-----1-----4

Bachelors:

Bachelor of Arts -----52

Bachelor of Science -----3

Engineer of Mines -----6

Electrical Engineer -----5

Civil Engineer -----3

Bachelor of Laws -----19-----88

Certificates:

Special Certificate in Medicine (Four years of univer-
sity work, two academic and two professional)----4

Teacher's Certificate (Two years of university work
academic and professional) -----33

Special Teacher's Certificate (Two years of university
work academic and professional) -----10-----47

Fellowships and Scholarships

The Board of Trustees, following the custom
of former years, has provided the following fel-
lowships and scholarships for the academic year 1913-1914: 1. One
industrial fellowship yielding an income of \$400, available in the
School of Mines; 2. Three general fellowships yielding an income

of \$300 each, available in any of the colleges of the University;
3. Three general scholarships yielding an income of \$150 each, available in any of the colleges of the University.

From many applications received from students and graduates of our own and other institutions, the following appointments were recently made by the Board of Trustees upon recommendation of the University Council:

Bernard M. Stoffer, E.M. (University of North Dakota, 1913), Industrial Fellow in the School of Mines.

Jacob A. Hofto, B.A. (University of North Dakota, 1913), Fellow in History and Sociology.

John B. Johnson, B.A. (University of North Dakota, 1913), Fellow in Physics and Chemistry.

William J. Leenhouts, B. A. (Hope College, 1913), Fellow in Chemistry.

Mabel P. Olson, B.A. (University of North Dakota, 1911), Scholar in Biology.

Cecil A. McKay (University of North Dakota), Scholar in Education.

Harry Nyquist, (University of North Dakota), Scholar in Engineering.

E. Margaret Lampert, B.A., (University of North Dakota 1913), Scholar, Alternate, in Science.

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